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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EAST EUROPE REPORT
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FIGHTER PILOT RECALLS EARLY FLIGHT TRAINING

East Berlin FLIEGER-REVUE in German No 6, Jun 82 pp 260-263

[Article by Lt Col (Reserve) Karl-Heinz Maxwitat: "Reminiscences"]

[Text] Publication of this article is occasioned by the just concluded Seventh GST Congress during which past achievements were evaluated and new tasks formulated, and the forthcoming 30th anniversary of the GST.

The meritorious military pilot, Reserve Lieutenant Colonel Karl-Heinz Maxwitat recalls the role played by GST training in his own life, and gives a general estimate of the value of GST training based on his experiences with officer trainees as a flight instructor for the MiG-21.

The altimeter shows 5,500 meters, air speed 500 km/hour. Power is at 85 percent. We are flying straight and level.

"Dive!" says my flying instructor.

Indicate the angle of descent and fix it with a short pressure of the joystick. Now to turn on my back.

To do this, the hand on the joystick makes a slight spinning movement. The horizon is clearly visible. It is made even clearer by the horizontal top of an inversion layer. The slightest deviation from horizontal is recognizable.

Okay, everything in order! This is where I have to pull to turn the MiG-21 into a dive. Initially, we want to pull 2 g (the good old Jak-18 or the Z-42 would have made this turn by themselves by now). Down we go! The variometer appears to be turning somersaults; the hands of the altimeter race around as though they were filmed in stop-motion. I compare the flight path with the indications of the artificial horizon. Now I first need to climb out of my vertical dive. I attain a positive angle of 80 degrees at 600 km groundspeed, then 60 degrees at 800 km groundspeed. Push the throttle forward again. Altitude is down to 3,000 meters. Pullout is to be at 1,500 meters. Speed is 950 km/hour. The Mach number must be noted too, since it now approaches .98. Now we pull out of the dive. The aircraft is once more

speeding along horizontally. Speed 1,000, 100 percent power. Two one-hundredths below the speed of sound. I am to fly the aircraft over the horizon and to put it into a combat turn. A combat turn is a quick turn of 180 degrees with maximum gain of altitude. You have to watch this carefully--note the climbing angle, correct the bank and establish the exact ratio between gain of altitude and turn angle.

I report in after my flight and receive the critique of my flight commander: "The diving turn was correct; the initiating parameters were appropriate; but you must not pull out of a dive so abruptly. You must pay greater attention to the rhythm of pulling out. I liked your combat turn. It was smooth; you also reached the exit altitude and thus were ready for the next set of figures. Overall grade for the flight: good. I am now ordering you to do a training flight in which you will make use of what you have just learned!"

I remember my MiG-21 training as if it has been yesterday. I was quite happy about my grade that day and my flight commander's permission to fly solo, because not everything had always gone as smoothly as learning to dive and do a combat turn on the MiG-21. But aerobatics had always been part of the kind of flying which I liked particularly, perhaps because it constitutes a challenge and because of the satisfaction one feels in overcoming the difficulties.

It is no surprise that during the good feeling which comes with success one's thoughts occasionally go back to the beginning of one's life as an aviator. This was the case with me, anyway.

It happened in September 1952 that a GST basic organization was established in Schoenhausen, where I went to school. Motivated by an acquaintance who was serving with the People's Police, by the history classes in my school, where we gained a new perspective of the events of World War II, reinforced also by the political situation of those days (the cold war was getting hotter every day), I had for some time experienced a desire to become active in military matters. To begin with, I applied for firing practice with the GST. Within a short time I had won the silver sharpshooter's medal.

After listening to a classmate who had attended a primary glider course, I decided that I might try this also. I had always been somewhat interested in flying. I still remember especially the Soviet movie "Valery Chkalov" which had made quite an impression on me as a child. Chkalov's test flights and the reaction of his long-distance flight to the United States via the North Pole were impressive--but all that was far away and not attainable for me.

Since young boys seldom enter into an adventure by themselves, I convinced a friend to come along. We applied for glider training. We studied the training manuals with fiery enthusiasm and an old experienced glider pilot gave us a lot of good advice.

Thus equipped and full of anticipation we went to a nearby glider flying field which was said to be located near a windmill hill. We saw the windmill hill

from afar, but no glider pilots. Surely they are on the other side of the hill, we said to ourselves.

In high spirits we marched up on the hill through the sand. Just a few more steps. We should hear something by now--but we heard nothing. Then we could look down on the other side--nothing! Nothing to be seen. The first big disappointment in our incipient aviators' lives. If we had quit then, I believe that would have been the end of everything.

After a short council of war, we decided to call the GST district chairman by telephone from the local restaurant. I have never again seen such an old telephone. A huge ear piece, a microphone with a funnel in a wooden box. A hand crank.

A big hello at the other end of the connection. How many are you? Two! That's better than nothing. We are 14 and we'll be right there. They did come over indeed. They seemed a bunch of optimists or something, but each one a good lad.

The SG-38 was preflighted in a barn. This took a long time; it was almost noon, and one of the comrades arrived with lunch. Slices of bread, 3 centimeters thick, and lots of liver sausage. He called them "sailor boy sandwiches." In those days, thick sandwiches like that were a motivating factor; another reason for staying with it.

The SG-38 was taken up the hill and placed on a plank which had been covered with soft soap. A rubber cord was put in place. The flight instructor prepared for the mandatory training flight. The comrades distributed themselves on both sides of the rubber cords and three of them held the SG by the tail with a short rope.

That was the ground crew.

Commands were screamed. "Ground crew?"

"Ready!"

"Starting crew?"

"Ready!"

I was part of the starting crew.

"Pull!" ordered the flight instructor aboard the SG.

"Run!"

We ran downhill, screaming.

"Start!"

A whooshing sound behind me and the decreased resistance of the rope literally broake the tension. The SG passed over our heads at an altitude of 3-4 meters; the guy wires were whistling and the flight instructor's pants legs were

fluttering in the wind. He landed some 80 meters away.

All day long we went up and down that hill. We were running, pulling, carrying, sweating, taunting, laughing, participating and sharing an experience.

So that's what it was all about? The whole event exerted a strange attraction. I was captured by the fascinating atmosphere, and I still can't escape from it today.

My training as a GST glider pilot started with me waggling the wings at the edge of the slope. The school glider was turned into the wind, and I had to keep the wings level with the aileron control. Later on we even had a stand, on which the glider could be moved in every axis--an ancestor of today's modern flight simulators.

Shortly thereafter I took my first ground slide. The flight instructor fixed the elevator control in such a way that the glider could not lift off. The task in ground sliding is merely to keep the wings level. What a triumph for a flyer: I succeeded in keeping the wings level until the glider stopped. The reward: three stars in my flight log, meaning: no demerits.

This was perhaps the minor, but still very important insight that success in the air must be prepared on the ground. How many times I have had this confirmed--both in a positive as well as in a negative sense.

Our training proceeded slowly in those days. Everything was most extravagant. Landing occurred after only a few seconds' flight and then we would wait for the transport crew. The hill seemed very small then; but after the SG was loaded back on the trailer and the whole load was dragged up the hill, that hill turned into a mountain.

What great expectations we experienced when in the following year we obtained a winch and a bigger starting site! It still meant a lot of hard work. The drag rope had to be pulled by hand and the transport distances were long.

This is when I realized that a pilot spends most of his time on the ground where he works and studies and is busy with things which hardly appear to have anything to do with flying at all. Because of this early insight, nothing could later on make me think otherwise.

I will always remember my first "high altitude flight" too.

Until graduation from the primary glider course one could never fly other than in a straight line and at a maximum altitude of 30 meters aboard the school glider. The idea was to learn how to land. There was no twin-seater training in those days. For that reason the preparation for high altitude flying was particularly exciting.

The day arrived. The limit to which we had gone in primary, about 30 meters altitude, was now the starting point. From that altitude on we were permitted to pull all the way back on the joystick. The SG pitched up sharply and made noises like an old wicker chair being sat on by a 100 kg man. Things on the

ground kept getting smaller. Now I could even see the city in the distance.

A distinct up and down movement of the school glider, which had been previously described by the instructor, indicated that I had reached drag altitude. Well--where was the outer signalman who was to signal disengagement of the tow line? He had been put at the edge of the flying field so he wouldn't be cut off from view by the sled or the fuselage of the glider. That's why he was called outer signalman. But I couldn't see him. Well, time to act on my own! Press! Three hard pulls on the disengagement rope. The SG shuddered. The rope was disengaged.

Now I saw the outer signalman. He indicated that the tow rope had indeed been disengaged. He was so small with his flag that I had at first completely missed seeing him.

It is difficult to describe one's feelings upon seeing the world from 300 meters up in the air for the first time.

I was to fly straight toward some railroad tracks. They too required an intensive search. What I finally saw was the smooth, worn track surfaces.

The instructor had told me to look at the leading edges of the wings to determine the angle of attack and thereby my speed. The sound of the vibrating guy wires were another means of determining it.

Everything appeared to be in order, and I entered my first turn. Then I saw the flying field, noted the yellow landing markers, and that was where I also saw the instructor with a big yellow flag. With it, he indicated my direction of flight and when to initiate a turn. This went on all the time I was circling the field, until the landing.

What a feeling...and what a relief. But to avoid thinking about other things, the same thing was to be repeated immediately!

Today I know that flights of this sort constitute the most significant of experiences. To me they are of equal importance in the life of a flyer with the first solo powered flight or even the first solo flight in a MiG-21.

Such experiences reinforce self-confidence, are a motivating force, promote the passion and the will to continue, even if things become difficult. For myself I can state that this experience contributed to the feasibility of my becoming a military pilot and permitted me to realize it.

But this was only one aspect which was so important for my development. I got a lot out of the atmosphere of the airfield. Everything was done fairly here; everybody took his turn, no one got preferential treatment. Mutual help was the order of the day. And everybody was prepared to give more of himself if the situation demanded it. Whenever defects in attitude occurred, we talked about it in a comradely manner, and much good, friendly advice was given. No subject remained untouched. I remember especially our political discussions about the events of those times. World War II and the time of fascism were recent memories.

It required patience to get rid of some trashy and outmoded thinking. And steadfastness was required not infrequently. I remember the events which accompanied the counter-revolutionary attempted uprising in June 1953. A few provocateurs asked me to take off my GST insignia, since that was all over with anyway. Well, they came to the right party: the insignia stayed right were it was, on my chest.

In the course of history, such experiences may appear minor. For me, they brought out my basic political attitude. They contributed to my always taking the correct position as an officer and a military pilot and to my ability of satisfying the not always easy demands made upon an officer and a functionary of the FDJ and our party.

Life and flying at the GST airfield also required patience, endurance and persistence. And those characteristics are needed by a flyer. There was nothing unusual in going to the airfield every weekend to contribute one's hours in construction work. One accepted the aggravation of serving as an operations officer and watched the others fly. Those things are character building. It took a bit of fortitude when, after hours of work, it was finally your turn to fly and the flying instructor said: "No more flying today! The wind is too strong."

Nor did we question it if a comrade who was about to take an exam was given one or two extra flights, if necessary. And how many times were one's own hopes for a flight dashed by damage to the aircraft or the winch! Anyone who did not lose his patience here soon became totally unflappable. In my own life, I have greatly profited from the things which helped to form my character at the GST airfield. When I for instance was in MiG-21 training, the other comrades of my squadron were way ahead of me in training. If I was nevertheless successful in catching up with them in a relatively short time, this was only because I worked with patience and determination, as I had learned in the GST, giving up a lot of other things to be sure and not miss out on any flying.

Another insight which I had gained already at the GST airfield concerned the famous-infamous details. Once, shortly before taking off, I noted that the tow rope was not lying perfectly straight, but figured I would compensate for that. But when the rope went taut with a jerk because it caught on a frozen mole hill, the wing was torn out of the hands of one of the ground crew and the wing touched the ground. My flight ended before it ever started. Severe punishment: "Grounded!" for the entire day.

And this was the insight I gained: "In aviation there is no such thing as unimportant details!"

Shortly after the aerobatics exercise I described earlier I was a MiG-21 instructor pilot myself for many years and trained many aviation cadets and future officers. As a flight instructor I quickly recognized the significance of GST training for the future military pilot. The former GST flyers were much stronger in their determination to become professionals, in their political steadfastness, endurance, discipline, love of flying and ability.

It soon became obvious who were the ones experienced in organizing an FDJ meeting, competitions and work with the flight information bulletin. They were familiar with the pilot's duties; they knew that every detail was important. They had less trouble with theory and already had some experience in preflighting. In other words, they were familiar with the basic rules and regulations pertaining to aviation which are the same everywhere and must be observed everywhere, be it in flying the "Bocian" glider, the reciprocating engine Z-42 aircraft or the MiG-21. Those who had already benefited from GST training were frequently the first to graduate from the L-29 or L-39 flight simulators. They also continued to make the best progress in their subsequent training. Their entire personality profile enable them to remain at the top of their class.

When the new students arrived I was always interested to learn about their previous training, which GST airfield they came from, who had been their instructors, many of whom I had known personally from my GST days.

I was particularly interested in their career development in the GST, how strongly they were motivated to become career officers and how that motivation came about. Questioning about their flying hours in gliders and in reciprocating engine aircraft already gave me a pretty good idea about their operational readiness and their interest in flying. The impression was completed when we talked about the atmosphere and life at the GST airfield: how important mutual help and friendly criticism had been; whether there was intolerance of deficiencies and breached of discipline; how the FDJ activity was initiated.

What I, for my part, got out of such personal interviews was to find out what new aircraft were available in the GST or what improvements had been made in the conduct of the training, all of which was of great interest to me.

Just as I had gotten started in the GST several decades ago, the majority of our young military pilots started out at a GST airfield, under considerably better conditions than we had with our SG-38. All of us obtained our basic tools from the GST and now contribute to the GDR's military protection with great enthusiasm for our socialist cause.

At the Seventh Congress the GST accepted a new set of important responsibilities.

I am certain that the comrades who are just now preparing to become career officers will fulfill these tasks and I hope that this article in the FLIEGER-REVUE will serve to motivate some of the young men to give it a try, just as in my days the pictures and articles in SPORT UND TECHNIK provided the final motivation for me. The great, unforgettable experience of the GST is still ahead of them.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WESTERN WRITERS' CRITICISM OF GDR PEACE POLICY REBUTTED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 96, 28 Jun 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "Hermann Kant Attacks Guenter Grass." A translation of the East Berlin SONNTAG article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Guenter Grass was criticized by Hermann Kant, president of the GDR Writers Union (SONNTAG, 26/82) for his remarks, at the writers' meeting in The Hague, on the situation of the Christian peace movement in the GDR. Kant stated at the national congress of the GDR Cultural League that Grass had depicted a "phantasm" in his representation: "Suffering columns of oppressed young people, wretched figures from the prisoners' chorus of 'Fidelio', only less melodious." The colleague, "talented as a writer as well as a [graphic] artist," had also wanted to "establish an office for his invention," but since conditions in the GDR require such an institution about as much as Liechtenstein needs a society for rescuing the shipwrecked, he had been "talked out of it." In his speech, Kant put Western authors engaged in the peace movement at a certain distance. Not even the concern for peace was shared equally by those who met or encountered one another. He did not wish to question it, but many a colleague from the West confronts "us like a baptizer of heathens: We can humbly bend down under his pious water, or else it is the axe. Or at least the rod, or ridicule, at a minimum."

Hermann Kant's Critique

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 36 No 26, 27 Jun 82 p 6

[Text of speech by Hermann Kant, president, GDR Writers Union, at the Tenth Congress of the GDR Cultural League, Dresden, June 82: "Peace Is a Key Word"]

[Text] The invitation to speak at the congress differed from similar offers in that it promised a double usefulness. I thought that I could tell the delegates about the work of the Writers Union, about the activities of not only a kindred organization, but an organization which, 30 years ago, grew out of the Cultural League and had been dismissed into independence, so to speak. And I thought, while still holding said invitation in my hands, I could use the opportunity to report to the Cultural League, to which I am obligated as a member of its fraction of the People's Chamber.

Still, if I do not dwell at length on parliamentary or literary affairs, it is because there is something overriding, something higher or more important, or to be precise, that which the often quoted dreams of the writer and the deeds of the politician, no less quoted, have in common. It concerns peace, its imperilment and its defense, its enemies and those who want to protect it. We are concerned with this peace because we have long since understood that it is the prerequisite of all continuity. Our dreams would be vain, our deeds wasted, if we did not succeed in blocking the path of war.

At least, the endangerment of peace is beginning to be balanced by an increase in strength of those who no longer wish to play the role of victim: The fact that it is especially those engaged in cultural work who give direction and impulse to the movement must provide satisfaction to an assembly such as this, but it is probably only in line with the nature of our professions. We seldom contradict when there is talk of sensitivity and even touchiness in conjunction with us and our work--should we act thick-skinned and indifferent in a matter where so much is at stake?

Our involvement is also right because with it, we follow a line of tradition. What today is generally called a peace movement has been around for a long time as a struggle for peace. The latter preceded the former, it smoothed the way for it, but the struggle does not become superfluous because there is the movement. Especially because it is so widespread, troubles (and also troublemakers) do appear. Our experiences within the framework of the initiative of European writers make this very clear, and it is one of the calming and strengthening developments of recent times that one is asked about these experiences by very different kinds of people. Normal autograph hunting gives way more and more to the alert interest of truly engaged people.

The writer who, for instance, returns from The Hague after an encounter with colleagues from 17 other countries is treated as a delegate and a negotiator in whom some hope had been placed. Please note that I am not speaking of my 'neighbors' in the profession or the Union, I am speaking of my neighbors in the house and on the street. "Was it strenuous?" they ask, and "Was it useful? Are you getting somewhere? Will something come of it? Isn't it always the same thing?" they ask, and they say something that sounds like a question, but is a challenge; they say: But you will go on with it?!"

Certainly we go on with it, even if it consumes very much of our time and our strength. For the reckoning is very simple: That which we attempt to think about and to address, would consume even more, would consume us all.

Certainly we go on with it, and especially because some people would prefer that we did not. For instance, in the Bonn WELT, that CIA paper, one could recently read that writers should pay [more] attention to their manuscripts instead of traveling through Europe with their peace circus. Their editors had probably forgotten for the moment what they normally think of our books. Compared to our participation in the cause of peace, they were the lesser evil to them.

We will go on, certainly, and the next stop will be Cologne, to which the GDR Writers Union will send a sizeable delegation tomorrow. And it is already obvious what they will be asked on their return: Was it useful? Are you getting somewhere, or is it always the same thing?

In a certain sense it is always the same, or stays the same: We talk about peace because we do not want war. We put a label to the threat, and listen to other labels. We say disarmament, and others say it too, but differently. We say moratorium, and not even all of them say "Freeze!" to us. But we all say peace, only our ideas of it are not quite the same. Always the same--much like other things without which one does not stay alive: breathe in, breathe out, breathe in, breathe out--always the same, but immensely useful.

From these indications it becomes clear how silly it is, because of the remarkable number of writers involved in the struggle for peace, to suspect a special interest or even a conspiracy of writers. To make it very clear: If there could be such a conspiracy, and if it were capable of curing the world of the arms mania and of bringing it peace, I would participate in it and would not be concerned by the worry wrinkles of friends and enemies, because I would, in the best of conscience, be helping so that friendship or enmity can continue, thus life itself, which also causes us some wrinkles of joy or worry. But there is neither conspiracy nor alliance--it is not for nothing that one speaks of the Berlin encounter and the meeting in The Hague, and as of tomorrow in Cologne, in the best advertising jargon, of "Interlit." (In view of the many "inter," which we also possess, Wolfgang Kohlhaase once said: "Germany. An Inter Fairy Tale.") [Reference to H. Heine's: Germany. A Winter Fairy Tale]

Meetings or encounters with people who have hardly any more in common than a professional preoccupation with language--which, of course, means preoccupation with consciousness--and who are brought together by only one concern: that a nuclear war could part us into oblivion.

So that we have no illusions: Not even this concern is shared equally by those who meet or encounter each other. I do not question it of anyone, but many a colleague from the West confronts us like a baptizer of heathens: We can humbly bend down under his pious water, or else it is the axe. Or at least the rod, or ridicule, at a minimum.

He who dares to stick to his old convictions and even to proclaim them, must be prepared for some scorn. Is it possible he can like his government for wanting peace, just like him? Very funny and laughable, for there is nothing to like about governments.

And the next day you can read in the press: The East Germans (that's us) said that they do not need a peace movement because their government takes care of the matter. Probably it would have been too much trouble to print the opinion that was really stated, [i.e.,] that we could not very well force an opinion on someone who has already held this opinion for a long time, and incidentally, whom we elected to govern us because of this very opinion.

Or you can read in the newspaper that the East German (that's me) said that the peace movement in the GDR is a phantom. But, of course, I did not call the peace movement a figment of the imagination, for I strongly believe in its strong existence--I am certain, for example, that here at this Cultural League congress, I am in the presence of a part of the GDR peace movement, which has been active for a long time. No, I only called a phantasm the description of GDR conditions as depicted by Guenter Grass: Suffering columns of oppressed young people, wretched figures as if from the prisoners' chorus of "Fidelio", only less melodious.

This colleague, talented as a writer as well as a [graphic] artist, even wanted to establish an office for his invention, but since conditions in the GDR require such an institution about as much as Liechtenstein need a society for rescuing the shipwrecked, we talked him out of it.

An episode, certainly, but [stemming] also from the spirit of such encounters and meetings. May I be forgiven the sinful thought, but sometimes I thought in The Hague, and in Berlin at Alexander Square, and before then, in Sofia or Weimar or Hamburg or some place else in the world where the struggle for peace actually showed signs of battle, sometimes I thought: Perhaps it really is simpler to get wars started than to create peace.

But one does not become a writer if one tends towards one's own comfort, and if one does not like difficulties, one must avoid places where opinions are to be debated. And compared to that from which we want to protect each other through our debates, all discomforts and other difficulties disappear.

In case you need this assurance, dear friends: The Writers Union of the GDR, which emerged from the Cultural League 30 years ago and has since produced some of its active members and delegates, has always decided in favor of efforts for peace and will not change its attitude.

Writers, artists, culturally engaged people strive for originality, and in this respect, also, we are not half bad. However, our ambition does not go so far that we proclaim ourselves spokesmen of a "quiet peace movement," nor do we claim to hear the "grass-roots" grow. Only he is capable of true renewal who is also willing to repeat the old truth so long and often that it becomes everyone's truth.

Simple truths which can be couched in simple terms: The Socialist movement is a movement towards peace. No one in our society could profit from a war. Everyone in our society gains from peace. Peace, like "solidarity," is a key word of our language. Peace is a key word of our literature. Peace is the key element of our philosophy.

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CSO: 2300/329

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

GDR'S OWN LANGUAGE--The president of the Saxony Academy of Sciences in Leipzig, Prof Werner Bahner, executed a sharp separation between the languages of the FRG and the GDR. The use of the language in politics and especially the socio-political vocabulary, he maintained in a recent speech to cultural functionaries, are an "expression of the class struggle." He described it as a "truism" that new social conditions would be reflected also in vocabulary. It is therefore only natural, according to Bahner, that the German vocabularies directly affected in this way indicate different evolutions in the GDR and the FRG. Numerous new terms or definitions, including their values, have appeared in the past 30 years and have by now become a permanent part of the vocabulary; however, because of the respective social conditions, they are customary only either in the GDR or in the FRG. It is therefore a "presumptuous misassessment" of West German scholars to brand the specific GDR vocabulary as "SED functionary jargon." [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 88-89, 14-15 Jun 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement p 2]

CSO: 2300/358

USES OF HIGH SCHOOL WORLD VIEW TRAINING WEIGHED

Budapest IFJUKOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 5, 82 pp 25-27

[Interview with Dr Pal Bakonyi, deputy director of the National Pedagogical Institute by Tibor Csontos, date and place not specified; entitled "Ideology for Homework?"]

[Text] A five-part public education documentary film series was prepared about its status. Its methods are caught in the crossfires of written debates and pedagogical skirmishes. The homework for the course Fundamentals of Ideology is considered a breeze by the majority of high school students and as something which improves one's average. At the same time, ideological instruction is the frequent topic of international conferences. All this is characteristic of school instruction. But another thing: For many teenagers, a person's ideology does not play a role in their judgment of him.

/The purpose of high school is to unravel and make students conscious of the ideological fundamentals of dialectical and historical materialism in such a way that the lessons as well as social experiences lead to a scientific ideology by way of a synthesis (High school disciplinary and instruction plan, 1980)./

[Question] Can ideology be assigned for homework?--we asked Dr Pal Bakonyi, Deputy Director of the National Pedagogical Institute.]

[Answer] --Obviously, ideology as such cannot be given as homework. But answering and solving the questions and problems connected to various aspects of the subject fundamentals of ideology can be assigned.

[Question] /--Rather than independent thought, often only the mechanical repetition of phrases and concepts is required in the fundamentals of ideology classes. The memorized facts do not have any regulating influence on conduct--hence the charges leveled against the teaching of the subject./

[Answer] --Even if it is an exaggeration to speak of "charges", we have not brought the subject of fundamentals of ideology close to the everyday lives of the students in all the schools. Initially, topics such as the relationship between being and consciousness, superstructure and dialectics are alien to the majority. For many, these appear to be only abstract questions. It is difficult to convince them of the practical nature of Marxist-Leninist ideology,

that it resides in human activities, determines and influences our thoughts and guides our conduct. On the basis of past experience, we will publish a new more practical textbook next year. At the same time, the foundations for the instruction of the fundamentals of ideology must be better laid by other courses. After all, the descent of man, the understanding of the world, etc. have been mentioned before in biology, geography, physics, chemistry and history classes but unfortunately, the concepts are not taught in such a way that they remain alive in the student when they come up again in a philosophical context during the fundamentals of ideology classes.

[Question] /--where we are graded on our ideology--say the high school students with a touch of sarcasm./

[Answer] --We don't grade ideology, but rather the efforts of the students to understand and master the subject matter. If this would not be graded, the subject matter would carry no weight. Of course, I well know that the thought behind this sly observation is, "If I don't give a Marxist answer to the question, I will at best receive only a passing grade." Answers deviating from the subject and the principles of the text cannot be "punished" by a poor grade, although our goal is that students understand and learn the tenets of Marxism-Leninism. Faulty answers must be corrected through discussion. The erring student can also receive a good grade if thorough knowledge of the classwork and the textbook is reflected in his reasoning. But I must emphatically point out that this subject in and of itself does not form the ideology of the students. It merely summarizes what the students should more or less know from other subjects.

/"The goal of ideological training...should be that students adopt in their thinking...and in their attitudes, and also independently assert, the fundamental tenets of dialectical and historical materialism...in order to aid them in renouncing harmful views."/

[Question] /--Nevertheless, we are discussing the subject and textbooks of ideology. Can ideology be taught?/

[Answer] --Ideology is composed of a plethora of facts, knowledge, experience, human relations, and the emotions and attitudes connected with them. In this sense, ideology cannot be taught. Everyone--especially the youth--must struggle to attain a world view at the cost of internal and external conflicts. However, schooling provides the necessary knowledge for the scientific ideology of modern man. Schooling shows us how our ideology came into being and which scientific sources nourished it in the past and nourish it today. Schooling teaches us how to judge the most important problems of today on the basis of our ideology. Naturally, the foregoing can and must be taught, and can and must be learned.

[Question] /--What unfavorable symptoms can be observed in the political thinking and ideology of the teenagers?/

[Answer] --The greatest dangers are the unhistorical modes of thought and the lack of historical perspective, and the type of social criticism which does not take into account our progress in the last 35 years. These result in views alien to socialism and muddled, often uncritically accepted opinions. I have heard from teenagers that they are not interested in what has been here for twenty or thirty years; what is important are present-day opportunities available to them. The ideological "weak points" of the youth include the remains of nationalism and the assertion of outdated opinions from a vanished age. An observable although not yet frequent characteristic of the age group is their indifference, withdrawal and resignation to the unalterable nature of the problems of our surroundings or to that "view of history" according to which matters are arranged over one's head. The last is a fairly widespread view among teenagers.

[Question] /--This is referred to in a recently conducted survey which examined role models of high school students. Here it was revealed that the majority of teenagers believe those engaged in politics and public affairs to be dishonorable. What could possibly be lurking behind these views, which were also mentioned by you?/

[Answer] --Many factors, both within and outside school. Beside shortcomings in the instruction of the fundamentals of ideology, there are weaknesses in the teaching of history; for example, we remained silent about the events of the recent past for a long time. Balanced concepts of historical perspective and pedagogy were missing from schools as well as from mass media. In addition it is my observation that more attention is focused on naturally heartening monetary gain than elements of consciousness and ideas in the thinking of some teenagers.

/"The instruction of history in high school...should aid the student's orientation to the present...and should result in the knowledge, comprehension and conscious acceptance of socialism by the students...It is necessary that the students acquire historical consciousness and the capability to observe natural and social phenomena in their own development."/

[Question] /--Where does religion fit into the picture? Is the widespread practice of wearing religious symbols based on belief or simply on fashion?/

[Answer] --I think that crosses worn around the neck or embroidered on clothing do not necessarily reflect religiousness, but they do express something--a desire to stand out rather than religious conviction. They consider religious symbols romantic, as if wearing them involves some risk. It could also be a sign of thoughtless contrariness. Of course, there are also those that are religious, but among high school students, more wear this sort of thing than those who take religion seriously. Participation in organized religion has decreased among the youth, but they would nevertheless like to belong to some kind of community on an emotional basis, where an element of romantic "secrecy" still exists. As if this provides peace in a hectic world...

[Question] /--when the answers to teenagers' questions on ideology should be provided primarily by instructors. But are they trained to form the world view

of the students? Teachers of a particular subject often brush aside this task saying it is enough for them to deliver the regular course work without having to bother with philosophizing./

[Answer] --The teaching of the subject truly causes problems for the instructor. It hasn't even been very long that we've been teaching it or that the deep and thorough understanding of Marxism-Leninism was required in school. Methodological experience is also lacking. It is difficult to reach past the subjects to the philosophical content in such a way that the conduct of life and its practice are influenced and orientation to the politics of everyday life is provided. Hopefully, the training of pedagogues which is on the brink of further development, will aid teachers in better knowing how a particular question could be answered or at least, how to begin to reply.

/"The teaching of literature should further modl their Marxist-Leninist world view so that their convictions are manifested in their activitities...The teaching of mathematics...should contribute toward training in a dialectical materialist world view...the teaching of physics should strengthen the dialectical and materialist perspective of the students..."/

[Question] /--It is said of teenagers that they are a generation raised on mass media. How do you see the great and unprecedented effects of television, radio and press from the standpoint of ideology training?/

[Answer] --Television is much criticized because some of its programs remain at the level of posing questions. Because of a valid fear that there are no formulas for the solution of social problems, television is rarely willing to take a stand. The newspapers geared toward the youth could assume a larger role in this. Occasionally they could give a more thorough explanation of a particularly timely ideological question.

[Question] /--Do you consider high school students to be political?/

[Answer] --They are more political than the public generally believes. They do not always politicize the way we would like them to but they are often sharp observers of phenomena. The majority criticize social conditions from a socialist standpoint--although they are not free of illusions or naivete. The solutions they envision are illusory, unhistorical and consist of one-sided moralizing. These phenomena were mentioned at the last KISZ conference. In conclusion, the youth reflects both the good and bad facets of the adult population's consciousness. It is to their advantage that they can start out with a "clean slate" and that their thinking is still minimally influenced by various restrictive interests. Of course, there are disadvantages in that they could easily get mixed up in "ideological adventurues" and the voicing of extreme views due to lack of experience.

/"The teaching of high school geography...should aid the formation of the students' Marxist-Leninist world view in a many-faceted way...Let music and voice play an effective role in forming aspects of their intellectual, moral and political ideologies...Art and art history...should develop the dialectical and materialistic perspective of the students."/

DISCUSSION OF YOUTH AFFAIRS IN PRESS NOTED

Upbringing Failures Decried

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Jun 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by a Kielce physician and a Central Committee substitute member, Zbigniew Charczuk: "Views on the Matters of Youth--'The Childhood Shows the Man'"]

[Text] Youth does not trust our party--as a result of the unpleasant past experiences--and it manifests its attitude with more courage than adults. This is, after all, a striking feature of young people's character; dash, show of courage and vehemence dominate experience and knowledge.

There is only one medicine: we need plenty of patience and we must demonstrate in our daily life the implementation of the resolution of the ninth party congress--building the system of social justice, what the young generation awaits most eagerly. Nothing will convince the youth better than a good example and tangible proofs of the unity of slogans and program with practice.

For the origin of youth's lack of trust in the ruling party, we should look at the attitudes developed in childhood. It is being said that the childhood shows the man. Having been employed for several years as a pediatrician, I can tell a lot about it. Contrary to popular views, the child is an exquisite observer of the surrounding world. We learn from our little patients so much information about the family life.

What are the observations from my own profession? The last several years reveal petty bourgeois trends in upbringing, since consumerism has been society's predominant life style. The party has not countered this trend. The prevailing practice has been confirmed by the sad examples of the party's recently removed leaders.

Too often the children have grown up in their homes in a hypocritical atmosphere--they heard something at school, while at home they encountered something entirely different.

The moral authority of the teacher has dropped. In the past the predominant type was a pedagogue who would rear a young man; now teachers routinely transmit

knowledge. I can recall the postwar period when we were poor but we had wonderful pedagogues. They were generous with the time devoted to their pupils. I remember them with sentiment and pietism. What is the youth's impression of its teachers today? Isn't the quite popular phenomenon of expensive tutoring at high schools a slap at the face of the teaching cadre in the socialist system?

Smaller families are conducive to the formation of the child-egoist. Parents often sacrifice so that their child is not inferior in dress, food, etc. to other children. Quite often schools, even elementary schools resemble style shows. This is approved by society, not excluding the faculty.

Our children are not encouraged to develop an interest in touring, to learn about their country, its history and its national culture. In this respect the well-prepared programs of the Polish Scout Union and the Polish Touring and Sightseeing Society look somewhat emaciated. Teachers, hunting a second job, do not find time for the upbringing of children in their social surrounding. Ignorance of even their nearest social milieu results in embarrassing consequences: a large proportion of students do not know the architectural monuments of the city where they attend school. This is also true of graduates of the institutions of higher learning of Cracow, Warsaw, Poznan and other cities.

Since infancy, youth has witnessed sociopolitical discussions, both at home and in public places. What is worse, it is politics practiced by the home-grown politicians, as if for their own use. In the old times Stanczyk has proved that Poland has the largest number of physicians. Today, we can assume without proof that the majority is composed of the pseudoeconomists and the same kind of politicians.

These examples tempt one to generalize that the genesis of the confusion, and maybe even frustration of some youth, lies in the absence of an upbringing system. On the other hand, the excessively frequent cases of careerism, violation of law and order, and the absence of justice became identified with socialism (those are the authentic opinions of youth).

The observed discontent of youth, signs of rebellion and antisocialist manifestations are linked with the weakening of social discipline, what has contributed to the drastic deterioration of country's economic situation.

The party is not without blame in this catalog of errors. The opposition takes advantage of this situation, and, utilizing sophisticated propaganda, sets the youth against us.

Youth should know the whole truth about the present crisis and its background. The dialogue with youth should be open, serious and honest. At the same time the young generation should be taught respect for work, social discipline and civic culture.

There is no reason why an elementary-school or high-school pupil cannot earn some money (collecting newspapers for recycling and secondary raw materials in general, herbs, etc.). He will appreciate the meaning of an effort, learn the value of money and learn how to plan his expenses.

Youth in internships should be guided by the best experts in given professions. It should feel that its efforts are properly valued and its work not being wasted.

Our own behavior, in turn, should show the youth that we are counting on its help. I would venture to say that it would not decline to help us. Youth can treat its commitments seriously. What it needs above all are good examples of adults.

In dealing with youth we should devote less time to the theoretical aspects of Marxism. It should learn about the Marxist philosophy in its daily life. We should not shy away from showing mistakes, incorrect decisions and negative examples. The reality of social life should illustrate the process of learning the principles of socialist system, not the other way around. Let us recall our youth. The classes that our memory has recorded best were those in which the teacher has based his theoretical presentation on experiments in the school laboratories. We should provide the children and youth with properly prepared history textbooks. No savings should be made on monographic publications in history. The faculty should have at its disposal well-prepared source material. No self-respecting pedagogue should avoid participation in the program of patriotic upbringing.

I strongly favor expanding the scout movement in the elementary and high schools. The Polish Scout Union has a long tradition. Its motto has always been patriotic virtues and love of the fatherland. Youth learns respect for work, social discipline, honesty, good manners, life free of addictions and, above all, justice. In addition, the scouts propagate sightseeing, study of Polish history, ability of living in a community. The Polish Scout Union should remain under special protection of our party because it is an organization that can effectively shape youth's character.

The best possible patronage should be assured to the youth organizations: the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] and the Socialist Union of Polish Youth [SZSP]. However, I would be against fostering political passions in those organizations; rather I would favor ideological matters and their assistance in preparation for a profession and civic life.

Youth should be assured of the participation in the self-governing bodies. I would invite to the central authorities representatives of youth organizations as observers with an advisory voice. Let them learn and train; they will profit from this. I would place particularly talented individuals in the positions of responsibility, although under the supervision of mature advisors.

Economic Proposals Offered

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by senior foreman at the PREDOM-MESKO Metal Plants in Skarzysko-Kamienna and member of the Central Committee, Ignacy Drabik: "Some Concrete Conclusions"]

[Text] The sociomaterial situation decisively influences the life of the young generation, especially young families. The

conditions of life of young people should be the basis for decisions about the future of the nation's life. It is the young generation that is burdened with all the economic, social and political drawbacks and complications. Its work motivation and readiness for increased effort and for building a new reality depend on the vision of its future and the possibility of realizing its ambitions and intentions. While examining the situation of young people, we should consider the conditions of family and private life, as well as the sociomaterial conditions at the work place. Some concrete conclusions follow.

The income from work--the only means of support of young employees--is more than 20 percent lower than the average wage in an enterprise. However, the difference in incomes of young employees with 0-10 years of employment and those with over 20 years of employment exceeds 30 percent. The average income of the young employees of PREDOM-MESKO [Metal Plants] in 1981 was equal to the country's 1976 average. To some degree it is a norm, provided that incomes would be supplemented, for instance, by the bonuses for the length of work. The irregularity of this situation lies in the fact that young people with 5 or 7 years' experience are paid less for the same work, sometimes even if it is more difficult and performed in worse conditions (according to the rule: since you are young, stronger and healthier). One should also consider the fact that, for instance, the 40-year-olds have already achieved a certain level of saturation with durable goods; the young ones have more needs since they are beginning to equip their households.

The conclusion is that same work, equal execution of this work, should be paid equally, regardless whether performed by a young worker or one with more experience.

In 1981 exactly 64.8 percent of young families of the PREDOM-MESKO [Metal Plants] employees were deeply in debt. The number of indebted families will rise sharply this year and in the coming years. This situation, considering the rise of prices, will have an alarmingly negative influence on the life of young families. The burden of debts and the involved payments considerably shrink the amount of money needed for every-day expenses. It makes one's material situation mere vegetation. We should expect to have a "demographic saddle" and deterioration of the young generation's health. The cost of many renunciations and excessive efforts would leave its marks in the future.

In conclusion, far-reaching financial assistance should be extended to young families. It should involve interest-free loans for the purchase of durable goods or for payments for apartments; these would be amortized after certain conditions are met.

Only 20 percent of young couples have an independent apartment obtained from a housing cooperative or from their employer; 60 percent do not have any apartments. Given the present recession in the housing industry, that number will rise substantially. The living space of quite a few young families is 5 square meters per person. This is starvation housing. The most acute housing shortage is being felt by youth in the 21-35 age bracket. What will be done to alleviate this situation?

The resources for the development of housing should be unconditionally regrouped and a green light should be given to this sub-sector of the economy. A very valuable initiative that can assuage this trouble spot is the youth patronage of the housing industry. By participating in building a house or an apartment building, a young family enables the professional crew to transfer to other work sectors. It therefore provides a cheap, efficient and reliable labor. One who works for himself does his assignment decisively better. An examination of the quality of the finished apartments would confirm this.

The government must do everything to ensure the implementation of the patronage-type housing construction by youth organizations. A number of unrealistic regulations, stipulations and other legal acts standing in the way of a smooth operation of the building industry should be rescinded. It should be done with the awareness of the mutual advantage that this youth's initiative brings about.

Many critical comments regard the "big slab." This technology is energy-consuming, material-consuming and harmful to health. We should once for all stop throwing money into a bottomless pit; instead buildings that can be constructed with traditional methods--from hollow blocks and brick--should be built. Consequently, it is imperative that we invest in the production of bricks and revive the idle brickworks.

Also the initiatives of the youth housing cooperatives and construction of single-family houses merit much attention. However, the regulations concerning building credits, their repayment period and the allotment of building material needed by the single-family building should be made more realistic. It would help to solve the housing shortage and absorb the population's financial resources; thus the inflation-building excessive amount of money supply will be liquidated. The dominant direction of our discussion, though, should be the solution of the problems of people's living conditions, not the liquidation of the money surplus at the disposal of that population.

SZSP Seminar Reported

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by W. Deb.: "Student Discussions--Youth and Society"]

[Text] At the Socialist Union of Polish Students discussions are under way on the future of the country and the young generation as well as the objectives of the institutions of higher learning. On 5-6 June these problems were discussed by the participants of the nationwide student seminar, "Youth--Participation in the Joint Administration."

The purpose of this meeting--attended by scholars, student activists and members of scientific circles--was to define the principle directions of the discussion at the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] on the present state and prospects for the Polish political system, listing the most important problems of students, and evaluation of the ideological and political work of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP].

During the discussion on the country's situation, the democratic solutions were pointed out. They would give a chance for the largest possible segment of the society to participate actively in overcoming the crisis. All social forces, including the socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], should create conditions for the unhindered civic initiatives and social activity. The discussion concluded that a major role in leading the country out of the crisis can be played by the plant, university and territorial self-governing bodies.

Much time was devoted to the social problems of the young generation. The enormous difference between the rural and small town youth, on one side, and the big city youth, one the other, was pointed out. The rural youth loses its chance for higher education not at entrance examinations but at an earlier point: in the elementary school and in selecting the high school. The rural and poorer workers' families tend to favor attaining an early financial independence; hence not many youth from such families decide to enroll at full-time high schools. It is still too prevalent that the financial possibilities of the parents decide the careers of their children. Thus, the state's assistance to elementary-school and high-school students is of great importance.

The political work of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] was also discussed. The conclusion was that the union should intensify its upbringing activity; the time devoted to political discussions and talks on the duties of the student body should be increased.

9644
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ILLEGAL HIGH SCHOOL GROUP UNCOVERED IN BYTOM

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2 Jun 82 p 3

[Text] They were to locate families of detained persons, to visit their homes and to offer help. The teenagers called themselves an "Independent Youth Movement." Is it absolutely necessary to make a defiant gesture and to declare oneself "independent" in order to help senior citizens, disabled persons and people living alone with everyday shopping and cleaning chores? The Bytom high-school students have no reply to this question.

The showdown occurred at Cafe Tosca--the kind of coffee shop that one may find in any city.

In the coffee shop, a police patrol recovered some interesting materials owned by a 16-year-old High-school student and his 15-year-old friend from an automotive vocational school. The materials included carefully mimeographed copies of typewritten programs and guidelines addressed to the boys' peers and advocating the founding of a widespread movement of independent teenagers.

The first document, called an ideological declaration, explains the goal of the movement "to develop a political program that would reflect aspirations of the Polish youth." This premise is further developed in the guidelines. They describe "security as members' behavior during rallies, street demonstrations and clashes with the authorities.

Like many other similar guidelines, the document recommends that members maintain increased vigilance; walk in groups of three, preferably consisting of one girl and two boys; and during "clashes" with the militia stay cool, sit in a lotus position, and pray. These guidelines carry a heading of the "Independent Youth Movement," which implies that they have actually been developed and written by high-school students. One of the recommendations, for example, is written in student slang; it reads: "When detained, pretend that you are strung out."

A prosecutor's visit to the principal of High School 5, which has long enjoyed an excellent reputation in Bytom, interrupted the school's peace. Named after Jan Smolen, a local hero in the struggle to reclaim Silesia for Poland, the school next year will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the first Polish high school in this area.

The school's scholastic and educational achievements are illustrated by diplomas earned by the students in various disciplines at national competitions and scholastic olympics. Moreover, 60 percent of the school's graduates are accepted for university studies.

Attitudes of the high-school students have been generally perceived as positive, sometimes even excellent. Even during the recent turbulent period, there were no incidents in the school. Principal Jan Mieszko said that in January, when classes were restored after the suspension imposed by martial law, students held meetings and discussions with representatives of the army and the police, but no one noticed anything alarming. To the contrary, in the questions asked by the students during those meetings there was little obtrusiveness, typical of teenagers, or any particular doubtfulness. "This is an exceptionally calm youth," said one of the army officers after a visit to the school.

However, the prosecutor paid a visit solely to this exceptional high school.

"I was absolutely astonished at the news that students started an illegal organization that included 12 students from our school," Mieszko said. "In accordance with the law, 4 students, who are over 17 years of age, have been detained in jail and this is most depressing. Everyone has been concerned about this development but at the same time teachers have been forced to consider more thoroughly where an error was made and when our attention lapsed."

Naturally, the news of the students' "independent movement" and its activities, forbidden by martial law, has electrified the school.

An Air of Conspiracy

Several girls and boys testified for the militia and the prosecutor; they were released. When they came to school, they were surrounded with a special aura of conspiracy. Perceived as heroes, the teenagers nonchalantly described their recent experiences, drawing the attention of their curious peers. During that initial period, the teachers acted in various ways. In class, there were instances of favoring or even adulating those students, until the principal decisively stopped those practices at a meeting of the teachers' council.

"No, I did not introduce any changes in class instruction at that time," Regina Krzeszowska, a history and social sciences teacher, said. She is also a preceptor of the class with the highest number of the "independent" students.

"What can I say about those students? Each is different. A few have poor grades but there are also exceptional students in terms of their grades and previous behavior. Some are sensitive and intelligent and some are conceited and defiant."

Neither a retired miner, a party activist, an overworked doctor, nor an engineer tired of his draft work was able to comprehend the news about their sons and daughters, insisting that it was merely a misunderstanding. They continued to attack the school for allowing such a situation and blamed it for their children's violation of the law.

Two boys, members of the group, are raised by a single parent because the other spouse decided to leave his city, family and country to find a place for himself only in the FGR. Other members received high weekly allowances. They also have driver's licenses and thus were able to use their parents' cars while their parents were at work. Some members own bicycles or stereo systems.

It is difficult to determine why in February 1982 this particular group went to the school physician's apartment for a lesson in the so-called uncensored history. Some of them hardly knew each other. To be sure, they were motivated by a longing for more knowledge of history, stimulated especially by often conflicting interpretations of various events in Polish history.

There were two such meetings. With the adults who hosted the meetings, the students discussed the history of the Piasts and Jagiellonians. When the apartment was searched, the militia found materials indicating that other meetings were planned to provide a particular interpretation of Polish history during the past 50 years.

With considerable enthusiasm, the young people unequivocally approved contact with two activists of the suspended Solidarity movement as well as a proposal to help families of detained persons. The young people combined the process of looking up the addresses of those families with distributing leaflets provided by the two Solidarity members. The leaflets announced "underground" meetings and exhorted the community to become involved in a "resistance movement." In an attempt to provide a formal framework for the group, the young people adopted a name, detailed guidelines and a manifesto addressed to all high-school students, urging them to serve the needy.

The young people twice covered the city, leaving the leaflets in stairwells, on windowsills, in elevators, in front of churches, often in a nearest trash bin. In a statement written for the militia, concerning the leaflet distribution, the young people wrote: "I did it because I did not want to look like somebody who has chickened out." "It did not make much sense, but what would my peers say." "I even considered saying no to the leaflet distribution, but nobody else refused, so why should I stick my neck out?"

During individual conversations, they are very hot-tempered. They maintain that all their activities were carefully considered.

"According to a widespread belief, adults took advantage of the naive youth in order to wash their dirty laundry but it is not true. Moreover, this kind of attitude is simply an insult to us!" This is how Jarek, the unofficial leader of the group, explains his stand. "After all, we are already teenagers, not small children; we have the right to our own views and beliefs, just like everybody else. My brother was trying to convince me that what we were doing did not make any sense, that it was immature, that we would not get away with it. I did not believe him. Now I tend to agree with him. But perhaps I would have done the same again, all of us would. After all, is there anything wrong in trying to help those people who, faced with a specific situation, had nobody else to help them? Everybody supports this kind of work."

Is it really necessary to found the "Independent Youth Movement" with all its trappings in order to help senior citizens, people living alone and disabled persons? Jarek and other members of the group have no reply to this question. They got themselves into trouble. The very name of the group gives them some surprising satisfaction; to people around them it is a source of sensationalism and excitement.

In dealing with the young people from Bytom high schools, the district court in Bytom decided that they need to be supervised by court-appointed guardians or by their parents.

But it is the people, who were most surprised by the whole affair, who seem to need a lesson in discipline.

9852
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POLAND

YOUTH DEMOGRAPHIC, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS DISCUSSED

Warsaw RADA NARODOWA GOSPODARKA ADMINISTRACJA in Polish No 10, 14 Jun 82
pp 9, 10

[Article: "Youth '82 and Its Problems"]

[Text] This May during a meeting of the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee, a program draft for the improving our young people's starting out in life and on the job was reviewed. The draft had been drawn up by an intram ministerial group composed mainly of specialists from the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs.

This interesting document contained an in-depth analysis of the situation of young people entering out into life. It included a list of the problems that they meet as they stand on the threshhold of their independence! The program listed the many barriers which the young people in our country have to overcome as they begin their jobs, want to start a family, are anxious to find their proper place in social life and to define their role in the changes taking place, as well as to set down their own long-term prospects for life, and this now at a time which is so difficult for the society and the economy.

A Quarter of Society

As was stated at the meeting, Poland is demographically a young country.

Young people, between the ages of 15 and 29 years, make of 9.3 million of the country's more than 36.1 million inhabitants. They represent nearly 25 percent of the entire population.

Young graduates of colleges and secondary schools are better prepared to begin jobs than previous generations. At present, more than 70 percent of all young people are graduates of colleges, general secondary schools, or vocational schools, compared to only 50 percent of the older people. The number of young families is estimated at 3 million.

Each year 300,000 young couples marry, and 700,000 children are born. This is our greatest national treasure, and they are being given a great

deal of attention under crisis conditions in the effort to meet their developmental needs.

The long-term demographic forecast to the year 2000 projects a negligible rise in the total size of the younger generation in our country. The demographers tell us that we should expect a further migration of young people from the country to the city. Hence, there is a need to create in the rural areas those social and material conditions to encourage young people to remain first of all on the farm and also in the local agricultural-food plants, agricultural mechanization, and local administration and services. Providing them with proper conditions depends to a great extent on the efficient operation of the local bodies of state administration.

As was emphasized at the meeting of the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee, the country's economic difficulties have had a particular impact on young people in both material and psychological terms. This applies both to the job sphere and housing situation and to the broadly-conceived sphere of the protection and development of the family.

The committee presented a hypothesis based on two concrete interlocking aspirations. It is a matter of having the provisions contained in the program presented be able to become rooted in life in the broad sense only after an improvement has been made in the national economic situation. This in turn depends to a great extent on the active involvement of the younger generation in the work of stabilizing and revitalizing the country's economy.

How To Train Youth

The conditions for young people's start in life is closely related to the good effects of training and their taking a job. These two matters received joint emphasis during the committee's deliberations. It is a question of having all types of schooling in our country related to the concrete needs of employment. We cannot continue to allow the graduates of the institutions of higher education, the secondary schools, the technical schools, and sometimes even the vocational schools to seek jobs to fit the qualifications acquired.

We should put an end to the old practices of directing youngsters to secondary and college-level institutions out of what is fashionable, because of the urging of parents, or after the example of peers. We must create, in elaborating a forecast of training needs, concrete ways of examining the various phenomena taking place in the national economy and in the economies of the voivodships and regions, and then using them we must tell the secondary schools and colleges what the needed directions of training are.

Aid to young people in their search for a place in life, for example, through the above-mentioned research and the resulting conclusions, should come also, perhaps mainly, from the voivodship offices. It is the local state administration that best knows what sort of trained experts are needed in the voivodship, and in cooperation with neighbors -- and in this matter mutual consultation is worthwhile -- what sort of needs there are in the macroregion made up of several voivodships.

How To Promote Youth

The Sociopolitical Committee emphasized that the creation and bolstering of the incentive role of wages is extremely important in releasing the initiative and enterprise of young employees. Up until now the promotion of young people has been too slow.

Among the 312,000 regular college graduates who finished their studies during the past decade, that is, those not over 35 years of age, 17.8 percent are in management positions, and the figures for men and women are 28.4 percent and only 8.5 percent, respectively. This abnormal policy in promotion policy is also shown by the fact that after 10 years of work on the job, one-third as many engineers reach middle-management levels or higher-management levels than in the group of their older colleagues who graduated earlier. For example, according to the statistics, it is not until age 35 that a young engineer receives the pay of an employee of his same age who has only graduated from a basic vocational school.

Hence, it was decided that the principle should be adopted to take such criteria as professional knowledge, and quality and amount of work. These are to be the basic criteria for vocational advancement, which in the case of capable young people should be rapid and early.

It was decided to create the principle of "open prongs" for wages, in order to eliminate artificial advancement in rank and similar artificial multiplication of positions of managers and their deputies. In this way things will lead to the creation of what are called horizontal paths of advancement, which means increasing earnings by means of a promotion within the framework of the position held.

How To Employ Youth

Much attention during the meeting was devoted to the need to insure that college graduates will have jobs. Because of the current situation in the economy, many graduates are having trouble finding appropriate jobs. This is particularly true in the large cities. Young people are offered the possibility of retraining, through the introduction of added special courses and additional qualifications obtained in courses. The principle has been adopted that a graduate may be referred to any job he wants to do, if it has a social use, regardless of where it is performed: in a socialized work establishment, in trade, services, the

crafts and trades, or on a farm. It has been decided to make more profound efforts to expand priorities to encourage people to take jobs right in the crafts and trades, services, and private agriculture. These three areas of the employment of graduates should be at the focal point of the interest of voivodship and parish [gmina] officials.

As for applicants to the institutions of higher education, beginning this year reliable information is to be presented about the employment opportunities for a graduate of a given major field of study. It is a question of making it possible for the young person to weigh his decision and base it on and awareness of all the elements of the complicated socio-economic situation in the country.

How to Develop Youth

Young people between the ages of 18 and 29 years represent 33.5 percent of all employees, and in the skilled workers group they make up a still larger share, 43 percent of the total. In these months about a half million graduates of the schools will take the first job of their life. It is necessary to create the proper atmosphere for them and to provide for proper relations on the job.

In many cases this socially and economically important matter has been undervalued or ignored in many places of employment. The Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee particularly emphasized the necessity for change for the better in this area. The prevailing relations between the supervisor and the young person beginning work, who does not yet have deeply-instilled habits, sometimes structure his long-range attitude towards his job and the social life going on in the plant. What sort of mechanisms should operate here? This question should be answered in each plant by the supervisors who know how to develop young people, those who treat young people as copartners and colleagues, as they introduce them to their work and their obligations.

You do not "raise" a young person. You do not inject him with an active stance, inventiveness and dedication when management is bad, when the relations between people break down, where there is waste, slovenliness, a mess, or incompetence. Under such conditions, moral training on the job produces the reverse effect, one which is bad for the young person, for his immediate surroundings, the society and the economy.

The committee emphasized that the complexity of the problems of the younger generation requires the creation of appropriate structures for the development of the human personality for the good of the socialist society. There was a call for adopting the principle that the system of planning should include, alongside the projected economic tasks, social goals as well aimed at the better satisfaction of the needs of various social groups, including the younger generation in particular.

After being worked over, the draft of the program will be presented to the Council of Ministers for related decisions to be made.

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POLAND

PZPR WALBRZYCH FIRST SECRETARY NOWAK INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 12 Jul 82 pp 1,2

[Interview with Jozef Nowak, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Walbrzych, by Marek J. Szewczyk: "This Generation Is in Favor of Socialism; On Youth Affairs Prior to the PZPR Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] [Question] When the members of the voivodship party organization put you at their head and when later the voivodship reporting and elections conference confirmed the correctness of that selection, the young citizens of the voivodship who constitute a large percentage in Walbrzych Voivodship were very pleased.

[Answer] We are presently dealing with a very different view of young people. The way young people are looking at us is no different. This situation is not new, either in our country or in other countries of the world. We have to realize this and not create new stereotypes to go along with nearly every generation. They are usually harmful in every respect: for one thing, they distort the proper picture of their followers and to a great extent have an impact on the attitudes of others. Stereotypes also unfortunately favor the development of what is called the conflict of the generations.

We are also dealing with increasing concern among the older generation concerning our country's contribution, their own fate, and the effects of several decades of work. The older people are the most active at party meetings. They voice their fears loudly: Can young people bear the burden of everyday labor? And conversely. The younger generation comes into contact with pictures of past reality, mainly those contained in the statements of teachers or in textbooks. unfortunately, certain periods in this composition are very blurred: the Nazi occupation, the activity of ZMP [Polish Youth Union], and the first few years after the war, which after all are very much rooted in our history and have an impact on its further course.

[Question] Is this "blurring" not caused by fear that the past days will be sullied, the fear of admitting their weaknesses?

[Answer] There is an old educators' maxim: As the older generation is, so is youth. But it represents after all a whole range of views on the subject of reality, the past, and the future which are quite varied and often not concretized. Let us not be surprised that the younger generation presents this in a very severe way, that it is waiting for the truth. It wants to find out why one fact or another is sometimes presented to it one way and sometimes another. And why are there subjects that are taboo? Why is it, they ask, that something which is so concrete for older people is not at all concrete for young people?

[Question] Perhaps here the political organizations which have somehow been afraid of activity in contact with the generations are not without blame?

[Answer] They are not afraid of it. For example, at its Third Congress the ZSMP wrote cooperation with the PZPR into its statute. This is a new thing which should be transferred to everyday practice in the wake of the Ninth Party Congress. This new aspect came into being in a specific period. We must remember in inculcating the proposed forms that the Marxist-Leninist principles clearly define the young person's role in the functioning of the socialist state.

[Question] Can the youth organization be a partner of the party?

[Answer] I think that anytime the younger generation is not treated as a partner but is treated paternalistically, then sooner or later it will go in the wrong direction. We now face difficult tasks, because they are getting into the realm of customs. We party activists, youth organization activists, and their members must see to the "structuring of the thinking" of the older people in categories of the younger generation and conversely. If we do not do this, we will always be dealing with having young people take our proposals "with a wink." "They want to buy us off. They want to manipulate us. They want to take advantage of the situation." When we approach young people on the basis of a partnership, then we have the right and the duty to demand that they also understand the complexity and responsibility of that generation which is older than they are, which has given it life, which in the end would like to put its contribution into worthy hands, turn it over with all the baggage of experience, both positive and negative. Why learn from one's own errors, since they have already been committed earlier and paid for dearly?

[Question] Among the basic party organization secretaries there are a lot of young people in their 20's, a lot of 30-year olds. In a conversation one of them said that after being appointed to the voivodship committee he was travelling to Walbrzych with a certain uncomfortable feeling. On the other hand, he knows that when he has a problem which he cannot handle on his own, he can always count on your help and advice...

[Answer] The first secretary -- that of the voivodship committee too -- should have moral authority and also personal authority too. Therefore, he should not shunt people aside. On the other hand, if everyone handled their affairs only through the First Secretary himself, the party machinery would be for nothing, and even a 48-hour day would not suffice for the First Secretary. The secretaries at the lowest levels must operate independently first of all. I am for not leaving alone a person who cannot manage, but for having him come with his doubts, getting advice, and not making a mistake. After all, it is not always possible to correct an error.

[Question] The next plenary session of the party's central committee is coming up, and this time it is devoted to youth, but it is not enough to say that there is a host of problems related to young people. They have to be taken care of as quickly as possible. In many instances the conditions created by our situation, our economic situation, for example, stand in the way. Let me just mention housing construction. This problem cannot be "taken care of" in the course of a year. Walbrzych Voivodship is an excellent example of this.

[Answer] Yes. We are trying nonetheless to resolve this problem jointly with young people. I must say that the young people themselves are demonstrating a great deal of initiative. Walbrzych Voivodship is one of the most needy voivodships in the country in this respect.

Nonetheless, the young people did not go to pieces when they learned about this. The first youth cooperatives and housing construction associations were formed. The young people are taking over what we call naked buildings. This is very encouraging, but these are merely the beginning, small steps on the way to improving the housing situation of Walbrzych families. I cannot imagine a solution to the Walbrzych housing problem without the active involvement of young people, beginning with the fact that they are filling the building schools with people anxious to work in this branch. It is not just a matter of technical schools but mainly of schools that train skilled brick-layers, plasterers, and so on, and ending up with a large proportion of young people in finishing them, the people who are the future users of housing construction. Then it is cheaper, and there is a chance for more. All initiative of this type must be supported by the voivodship administrative and political authorities.

[Question] Housing means the family, its proper development, its desire for life, the possibility of recreation and the rebuilding of strength before the next day's work.

[Answer] It is difficult to say for sure whether in 5 or 10 years we will be able to ease the housing problem to the point where the waiting period will be shortened to, say, 3 years. The solution for today is the more rational management of the housing we have. In Walbrzych Voivodship, one family out of every five lives together with another one. But at the same time there are those who have two apartments. Efforts

have been going on a long time to attempt to resolve this problem on both the voivodship and national scale. In both cases this is merely the preliminary to the beginning. There are people who would like to exchange their large apartments for smaller ones. Unfortunately, the legal situation does not always favor these aspirations. It is not always possible for the parties to follow the letter of the law to the end. Hence, there are many issues which, alongside the most rapid possible resolution of the housing problem by expansion of the construction industry, must be resolved right away. And here I see a great role for the party and for youth organizations. We must have joint, decisive positions in the concern for the proper development of our children and ourselves. Without that, nothing will work.

[Question] Mr Secretary, you have spent many years among young people, but even today many Walbrzych young people are saying: our secretary. Please give an assessment of youth. What is it like? What should it be like?

[Answer] It has a great deal more than we had. It has not known poverty, as my generation did, especially that of people from working-class families with many children. Now many young people are feeling privation. I wish for this generation that the current complicated conditions create in them strength of spirit, that is, both thoughts and attitudes. These young people are in favor of socialism, but they are against distortions of this system. These young people are more critical. They want unequivocal statements about what is wrong and what is not. Much attention must be given to self-development, the formation of their character. We must show the achievements and errors of their parents, grandparents, and forefathers.

[Question] Here and there we run into the statement "lost generation."

[Answer] I said at the beginning of our talk something about stereotypes. I remember from my own youth the way people talked. "Study, Child, or else you will wind up on a PGR [state farm]. This was also a stereotype that comes up in my mind when I hear about the next generation, which is now called "the lost generation." I do not know who created this paranoid idea, whether it was us Poles or our adversaries. I do not think it was us. Which of our generations can be considered lost? I think these are the first indications in the more distant future when the primary notions will be not only that this is not a lost generation but also that it is not only not against socialism but that the current conditions have shaped special generations in the history of our nation, that of our socialist state. Now we are actually a little at the stage -- there may be a great deal of subjectivity in this -- "to be or not to be," in relation to the whole past period of the country. Either all this will be digested and there will be new values created, very concrete positive categories which confirm that practice coincides with Marxist-Leninist theory, or... And what is the other alternative? It would be a tragedy! It should not come to this. It must not. After all, this generation is not one of people committing national suicide. I believe in the younger generation, and I know that each of them can be only an active optimist.

ZSMP LEADER JASKIERNIA WRITES ON YOUTH, AUTHORITY POSITIONS

Warsaw RADA NARODOWA GOSPODARKA ADMINISTRACJA in Polish No 10, 14 Jun 82 pp 11-12

[Article by Jerzy Jaskiernia: "Youth in Organs of Authority"]

[Text] The Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] as the focus and spokesman of the interests of youth fulfills the duty of being the organ of expression also through its representatives in the central and local organs of authority. In the past, the participation of youth in social, public and political life has been insufficient. Potential comanagers were not playing the part expected of them, they were not a brake for various social deviations, nor were they an innovating force in public, social or political life, in science or in the economy.

Our union, like former youth organizations, did not appreciate the real possibilities of utilizing the creative potential of a broad group of its representatives. It is debatable to what degree, for instance, the ZSMP in past years in practice recommended people for the functions of councilors and deputies and to what extent otherwise chosen people were attributed to the organization. Irrespective of the present evaluation of this matter, there was never enough commitment to effect the right choice and designation of our candidates, to win them over to the cause of the Union and its concerns. Finally, to give the youth representatives the moral and ideological motivation to courageously represent its causes and also to help in situations when the activity of the councilor requires the support of an entire echelon of ZSMP. Instances of abandonment of councilors and deputies in their struggle for just causes are well known.

There is another problem: to what extent the individual elements in the local and central authority have tried to create the conditions in which the social vocation of the young could effectively and efficiently be implemented. The union, through a prescribed system of work with young councilors and deputies, as well as with others who represent youth in all sorts of social organizations, can have an influence on their attitudes and motivations but, of course, much depends on whether the social, organization and political conditions exist for the youth to carry out its mission and to mature into its responsibilities and grow into the roles of comanagers. One could ask: who, in the past was interested in particularly awakened activism and courage on the part of the young councilors and deputies?

What examples did they encounter every day, what manner of people were around them, into what overwhelming mechanisms were they hemmed in? How many examples could we give today of a leader or governor seeing to it especially that young councilors are critical, that they proclaim the truth and fight evil, bureaucracy and injustice?

Search for a New Formula for Action

Directions for the change in the relationship of ZSMP and the representative and self-governing organs were sketched at the III Extraordinary Congress of the ZSMP. It was noted there, among other things, that the participation of youth (including the members of ZSMP) in the actual exercise of authority was very limited and that it had a negligible influence on the solution of the problems of youth. At that time, the view was affirmed that work with the young councilors and deputies should serve to introduce large numbers of young people to the principles and the functioning of the elements of the socialist democracy; that it should enable them to express their own opinions and views, submit comments, recommendations and state their expectations from the state authorities, thru the echelons of the ZSMP as well as thru the members of the ZSMP in the representative organs. This is particularly significant for an ideological-political and educational organization such as ZSMP, it also has a bearing on its strength. On the one hand, it signifies participation of youth in the exercise of power, a lasting place in the system of governing and leading the state, on the other--upbringing for socialist democracy. This process goes on in a parallel fashion and that is the way it should be. For participation in the development and improvement of democracy cannot be treated as a goal postponed for the future but constitutes an objective necessity of the present day, an indispensable requirement of social and civic upbringing.

Presently, when we talk so much about the necessity of starting a dialogue between the authorities and society, we wonder in ZSMP what are our chances of fostering this dialogue, organizing it and leading it, among others, through the young councilors and deputies, members of the urban and rural self-government. We want, among other things, to propose a new current of youth activities, a new formula for their presence in the representative organs and in the work environment, education and life. It is also an attempt to equalize the degree of activity which varies on different levels of authority, in different regions and environments. The differences in this activity stem also from individual attitudes to social duties.

The decision to extend the term of the people's councils to 1984 concerns the active as well as the passive councilors, among them those who have ZSMP identity cards. It is not a matter, obviously, of reaching the end of the term with this passive group. It is a matter of filling the extended term with active and effective work, social thought and activity. Thus, in the practice of the activity of the ZSMP and of the elements of state authority, it is necessary to improve cooperation with young councilors and deputies and to create the conditions for their participation in the formulation of programs for the development of particular environments and regions, in exercising social control over the state administrative apparatus and in strengthening the ties with the electorate. Based on such activities there might and should be a rebirth (very important in the present sociopolitical conditions) of the faith of

the young in the authorities and the institutions of the socialist state, the beginning of a dialogue between the young generation and the state.

The plan approved by the Union boils down to five directional activities. They are:

1. completion of an analysis of the number of and an essential evaluation of the presence of young people in organs of central and local authority;
2. creation of the appropriate climate for cooperation of councilors and deputies with echelons of the ZSMP;
3. preparation and dissemination of indispensable instructional methodological materials;
4. entering into everyday direct working contacts with the appropriate institutions and offices;
5. construction of a new formula--with respect to content and organization--for the representation of the concerns of the young.

Youth in the Sejm and in Councils

The cycle of working meetings with a group of young deputies led to the undertaking of concrete actions on the part of the Young Deputies' Group at the Main Board of the ZSMP. It acts according to the principles adopted by it.

It is worth mentioning that in the election to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic on 23 March 1980, 21 members of ZSMP, one member of the Polish Scout Union and one member of SZSP were elected. Ten deputies were under 30 years of age. Changes brought about by filling expired terms has resulted in a group at present of 31 people under the age of 35.

In the above mentioned Young Deputies' Group there are 23 people from various organizations. This confirms the need for such a group as a forum of cooperation, exchange of experiences, and a source of support for new young deputies. The first effects of cooperation are: the submission, in the name of the youth of particular communities, trade groups, and also in the name of the Union, of questions and interpellations by the deputies; worthwhile appearances in commission and Sejm sessions, establishment of contacts with the elements and echelons of the ZSMP. The Main Board of the ZSMP gave the Young Deputies' Group a list of problems to work on. Young deputies are given access to fully prepared studies, motions, opinions and positions as well as knowledge and expertise of the Experts' Group attached to the chairman of the Main Board of the ZSMP.

Among the councilors of the Voivodship People's Councils (WRN) there are 1577 representatives of the youth. This is 23.5 percent of the total number of WRN councilors. On the other hand, among those on the basic-level councils there are 17,477 young councilors, or 17.5 percent of the total. In the personal composition of individual councils, the percentage of participation by the young is very varied, ranging, for example, from 29 percent in Leszno, 28 percent in Chelm, to 9.4 percent in Krakow, 8.4 percent in Gdansk.

The structures that organize the work of the young councilors are the Young Councilors' Groups (ZMR) which are active on the voivodship level in 47 voivodships. An analysis of their work shows that, in spite of differences in the number of councilors and in the length of their service time (some date from 1982), they follow a similar pattern of action. It consists, first of all, of meetings of groups prior to sessions to discuss the session materials, exchange views and prepare concrete motions, or to decide who will do the reporting. Other forms of work include, among others, educational activity of the young councilors (Bydgoszcz Voivodship ZMR), joint duty sessions with the deputies (Czestochowa Voivodship ZMR), activities aimed at the basic level councilors (Leszno Voivodship ZMR), participation in the work of community Front of National Unity committees (Radom Voivodship ZMR), etc. Voivodship Young Councilors' Groups extend, in their activities, beyond the scope of the Voivodship People's Councils, often undertaking tasks suggested by elements and echelons of the ZSMP. Here are some examples: taking advantage of the working time and qualifications of young people (Kielce Voivodship ZMR), socioexistential questions of Volunteer Labor Brigades members (Radom Voivodship ZMR); productivity-oriented activity of young farmers (Wloclawek Voivodship ZMR), practical training of agricultural technical high school students (Zielona Gora Voivodship ZMR). Activity carried out in this manner is a wonderful complement to the work of WRN's which is particularly important in a situation when, during the present term, there has been only one WRN session devoted to questions of youth. And yet it is not hard to come to the conclusion that taking on problems close to the youth community will activate the involvement of the young councilors and that lack of such interest will give rise to passivity and social apathy.

Active Only at the Time of Founding?

It is worthwhile to quote some opinions on the subject of the activity of the young councilors voiced by the voivodship echelons of the ZSMP. Very positive evaluations, stating that the young identified with the activity of the ZSMP, came from Bydgoszcz, Nowy Sacz, Ostroleka. Krakow reported "a generally average, but very active group (under 10 people)"; Jelenia Gora informed us about "the good activity of some 30 percent of the young councilors." The following voivodships informed the Main Board of the ZSMP about weak activity of the young councilors: Kalisz, Katowice, Trosno, Lomza, Olsztyn, Poznan, Rzeszow, Tarnow, Wloclawek, Wroclaw, Zielona Gora. Among the various opinions, we find information about growing activity (Plock, Warsaw, Koszalin) and about steady falling of the activity of young councilors over time (Biala Podlaska). This last statement requires further clarification. Cessation of activity is caused most often by lack of results in affairs undertaken by the young councilors.

Among other causes of the lack of activity, according to the young councilors themselves, are: lack of suitable personality for the function of councilor (low level of knowledge about the social and political role of the councilor, stage fright and inability to present a position--for a great majority of the young councilors this is their first term), a situation in which the group of the group of the young councilors was selected according to wrong principles (the "key" effect), which is connected with the fact that only a small percentage of these councilors are true activists in the ZSMP. Neither is this the most active group of representatives of the young generation. Sometimes the

lack of emotional ties with youth and youth organization is quite evident. Among other causes of this state of affairs, the small number of meetings organized by offices of people's councils the generally lower prestige and significance of people's councils, the complicated social, political and economic situation, conditions of personal life which decrease social activity (a considerable part of the young councilors are farmers and girls--a great number of home, farm and family duties), social stagnation of the entire community, lack of inspiration--are also cited.

This list of conditioning factors for activity was compiled as the result of appraisals carried out by Young Councilors' Groups.

The participation of the ZSMP aktiv (outside the group of councilors) and echelons of ZSMP in the work of organs of people's councils varies greatly throughout the country. There exists the practice of inviting the ZSMP aktiv to participate in the work of WRN organs; this occurs less often on the primary-level people's councils. Instances of bringing problems to the attention of commissions or sessions of people's councils directly by echelons of the ZSMP are also rare. ZSMP Voivodship Boards of Kalisz, Konin, Lomza, Lodz, Nowy Sacz, Olsztyn, Opole, Plock, Radom, Rzeszow have shown some activity in this respect. It is worth pointing out that, in many instances, positive results have been obtained, for example, in the area of the division of budgetary surplus--allocating it to sport and cultural activities, especially meaningful to youth.

Decisions of Recent Days

Guided by the social and political significance of the participation of the young people in people's councils, the Presidium of the Main Board of the ZSMP considered this problem at its meeting of 6 April 1982, with the participation of the deputy chairman of the Council of State, Zdzislaw Tomal, and vice marshall of the Sejm, Piotr Stefanski. Several measures were decided upon, aimed at augmenting the authority of young deputies and councilors in the life of the ZSMP and also at increasing their participation in advocating the concerns of the young. It was decided, among other things, to create a ZSMP Main Board Commission on Young Deputies and Councilors, to work out a set of organizational principles for and the essential scope of the education of councilors and candidate councilors, to work out and launch a concept of small congresses of young councilors as a means of verifying and activating the work of young councilors and their groups, to evaluate the work and to increase the number of meetings between the young councilors and the electorate, especially at the places of work of the young and in school, to work out and publish instructional methodological materials for the activity of the young councilors.

The Main Board Presidium of the ZSMP recommended to the elements and echelons of the ZSMP the popularization of the idea of Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth [KON] and the striving for greater participation in them by the young. The first occasion for a broader exchange of experiences on the subject of the activity of youth in OKON's was the consultation held on 13 April 1982 in Warsaw. Very interesting initiatives were presented, and the need for fomenting this new civic initiative, in form and substance, from below, was stressed.

ROMANIA

DANGERS OF 'MYSTICAL TRADITIONS OF CHRISTIANITY' CITED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 May 82 p 4

[Article by Octavian Chetan]

[Text] The gradual and irreversible shrinking of religion's role in all social areas forcefully marks our era. This marginalization of religion involves a significant decline in authority and influence of religious ideology and institutions in their relationships with broader and broader strata.

"We witness the second day of the victory of atheism" -- a Catholic theologian recently wrote, emphasizing that no theoretical effort, no reflection on man-divinity relations or the status of faith today can be submitted for debate without taking into consideration this preeminence of atheism over religion in the present-day world. "In the final analysis, we must admit that there are often legitimate reasons for denying God."

Confronted with this critical situation, modern Christian religion is attempting a way out of the crisis by various compromise solutions. On the one hand, promoted are a number of trends for "modernization" of religion, actually timid openings toward serious social problems of the international scene, adoption of a language that is appropriate for the sensitivity and cultural standard of modern man, initiation of a dialog -- from far more nuanced fideistic positions -- with modern sciences, briefly, a "modernization" of the dogmatic expression and a "horizontalization" of the religious message, that is the multiplication of the modes of connecting Christianity to the secularized world.

Hence, an attempt is being made to connect religion to the spiritual climate of a world in which science exerts a decisive influence on the individual's mental attitude, rational arguments are being sought to prove an alleged "perennial character of religion," which, allegedly, could endure under most peaceful and harmonious relations with the efforts and results of natural sciences and social sciences. But the "rationalistic" subterfuges, the entire "quarrel" of "modernization" actually proceeds around the form in which this message is presented, the theologians' discussions strictly focus on its ideological packaging, the limits between which the dogmas can be appropriate for a secularized language. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, for instance, the initiator of one of the more radical orientations of modern Protestantism, openly admits that modern man is heading toward a totally nonreligious era,

that people no longer need divinities to freely lead their lives and that the task of Christianity, for its still surviving for a while, would be to present in a non-religious way, to nonreligious people, the message of the Christian religion.

On the other hand, we are witnessing a massive resort to the mystical traditions of Christianity, to the display of a whole dogmatic arsenal of medieval founts, by which attempts are being made for the "verticalization" of the religious message, its approximation to the most "authentic" sources of religious traditions, as they were established by Christian writers during the period of primary Christianity and the Middle Ages. Hence, it is a matter of an alternative to the extreme-modernistic tendencies of some modern theologians to present religious faith in an apparently rational and lay package. Moreover, resort to the old mystical Christian writings would, in the theologians' concept, be capable of stimulating the process of purification of the substance of dogmas from worldly additions. As a matter of fact, it is an attempt to overcome the crisis by amplifying the irrationalist vein of religion, which is fundamental in the structure of every religious creed. Implicitly, it also is an acknowledgement of the impossibility of "rationalization" and secularization of religion, of its harmonization with the traditional efforts of science.

Revealing in this area is a recent survey "The Problem of the Existence of God Does Not Exist," in which the authoress, Paule Levert, from the positions of a "modern" theology, rejects the thesis, according to which the existence of divinity could constitute the topic of rational tackling. The solution to which she resorts -- a pirouette designed to grant a status of "experience" to religious states -- places the emphasis on the (irrational) communication between the believer and divinity, a communication which also is considered as an "encounter" with the object of the faith and a "witness" to its existence. Furthermore, another orthodox theologian recently regarded as the leading cause of the crisis of religion in our days the lapse in the practice of prayer, considered by him as a favorite means of encounter, communication and communion of the believer with divinity. Hence, his urge for revitalization of religious traditions, of Eastern Christian mysticism: "Without mystical theology, without spirituality, Orthodoxy becomes a surrogate Christianity."

This insistent cultivation of the mystical traditions of the major Christian faiths (Catholicism, Protestantism, Orthodoxy) also involves an attempt at overcoming the crisis by claiming of a doctrinal territory which is mainly employed by the numerous Christian sects that are, more and more frequently, emerging in the foreground of the religious (sometimes also political!) scene in most developed capitalist countries. Their mystical vein is highlighted by occult beliefs, by black magic, by elements of astrology and alchemy, by cultivation of demonology and of apocryphal biblical texts of apocalyptic inspiration, and the like.

The connecting factor of these orientations is millenarism, that is the mystical belief in the future-one-thousand-year reign of the founder of Christianity, a reign which would precede or follow, according to others, a terrifying end of the world and would prepare the last judgement. This millenarism pervades -- in various forms -- all the history of Christianity and even if it was never admitted as such in the official dogmas, it was neither anathematized as heresy, because it was too closely tied to the writings of major Christian mystics.

The terror of "the year 1000" -- fostered by the dominant religious ideology -- marked all the Middle Ages, the period between the 11th and 16th centuries, when much of Europe lived year by year awaiting the horrible apocalyptic event of the end of the world each time announced on the basis of "infallible calculations" by various top theologians. The prospect of the end of the world continued to agitate mystical minds and the imagination of religious fanatics also in the following centuries, though each time their gloomy predictions were belied by the progress of history.

In our century, millenarism is represented chiefly by Neo-Protestant sects (Adventists, Pentecostals, Witnesses of Jehovah, and so on) who do not tire in sowing even today in the minds of their followers terror in face of the imminence (read: an imaginary one) of merciless divine judgement for those indulging in the "futilities" of the world. Let us first point out the difficult situations in which the representatives of these sects find themselves when they have to constantly correct the dates for the occurrence of the apocalypse. While "Seven-Day Adventists," after the failure of the repeated "precise" dates announced for "the end of the world," believe, somehow more prudent, that this event may occur, now, any day, the "Witnesses of Jehovah" further resort to serially "correcting" the old predictions, their last "specifications" focusing on the area of... the years 2900.

The disdain for possessions in this world, advocated by their representatives, is contradicted by their great financial power. In the West, these sects have weekly and monthly publications, radio stations, propaganda material published in many languages, which they disseminate legally and illegally in countries in Europe and other continents.

The antisocial character of this mystical arsenal, worthy of early Middle Ages, is evident. The wait for the end of the world becomes the sole event that gives a meaning to human life. An attitude of passivity is theorized, one which distances the individual from his or her practical endeavors, fostering feelings of wait and resignation, illusion in an unreal world, an attitude which cannot but have inevitable negative effects on the social activity of the individual, on its transforming role. Such urgings become all the more harmful because it is known that we live in an era when the active, transforming role of the individual, through technology, is expanding considerably. In this context to advocate waiting and resignation implicitly signifies to minimize the role of the chief modality of the realization of man, of utilization of his creative capacity, the practical activity for the upgrading of social life, of his living conditions.

Recently, a number of theological orientations changed views in this regard; they advocate an active attitude, but not toward the fulfillment of human individuality, but toward the realization of divine tenets; believers are urged to participate in social life, but only to orient its evolution along the line demanded by the predictions of the Bible. The Lutheran theologian J. Moltmann, the advocate of the so-called "theology of hope," for instance, speaking against the theologies that practice a cult of the Absolute and are indifferent to the conditions prevailing in diverse societies, requires the Christian communities to become constant seats of agitation in all human societies in order to prevent their stabilization and to actively help to change them according to the divine promise of the Christian Kingdom. Paraphrasing Marx's well-known 11th thesis on Feuerbach, Moltmann textually stated that today the theologian no longer can limit himself only to a different

interpretation of the world, of history and of man's fate but is in duty bound to participate in their transformation... in expectation of the final divine transformation of all the world. Hence, only from the perspective of eschatology, the Christians would be justified to promote the historical transformation of the social and political scene. In his turn, the Catholic theologian J. B. Metz, after pointing out the impasse of classical metaphysical theology and stating his support for political theology, emphasizes the need for converting Christian religion into a "theory of praxis, guided by faith." In his concept, also, the critical function of the eschatological outlook must be prominent in the Christian community and the hope in the "divine kingdom" must impulse the contestation of any attempt at specific absolutization of social development.

From the above it follows that the church is concerned with the living conditions of the believers from the perspective of a profoundly distorted outlook on man, as an eternally damned being, who could never elevate himself above his biblical fate. A concept that ties the fulfillment of the human individuality to the end of real history, in expectation of an illusory general physical and spiritual resurrection -- theses which belong to the darkest facets of Christian dogmas and which from the onset eliminate the issues of man's social and historic responsibility. All the more they spotlight the idea that man, as a human and social being with an individual destiny, cannot develop and assert himself under the pressure of millenarian and eschatological dogmas.

From this one can also judge the character, the nature of the interference of the church and mysticism in the state's social scene. Proclaiming the absolute superiority of the dogma, this type of interference aims at subordinating social realities to theological requirements. Actually, the aim is to regain the social status which the church has irremediably lost as a result of the broad secularization of the modern world, attempts are being made to transform some cults, some representatives of these cults into tools of the policy of meddling into the domestic affairs of various countries, against the forces that work for the progressive development of the world. For, as a matter of fact, such an interference, by the nature of things, cannot but be useful to the conservative, reactionary, social forces. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Religion must not and cannot meddle into politics; any attempt at doing so must be combated because, willing or unwilling, in this way it becomes a tool in the hands of reaction."

That is why the combating of such tendencies and orientations, the disclosure of their mystical substance and their antihuman finality is a paramount command of all rationalist and humanist trends of thought, of progressive forces everywhere.

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YUGOSLAVIA

YUGOSLAV EMIGRE TERRORIST ACTION IN WEST EUROPE

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 82 pp 84-88

[Article by Boris Susa: "Showdown in the Underground"]

[Text] This feature article tells about the activity of various extremist groups of the political emigre community and was written on the basis of reports of police departments in the West, what has been written in the emigre press, statements by Yugoslavs who have returned from abroad, interrogations of certain terrorists apprehended in our country, and other material.

The trial of the terrorist and spy Miljenko K., an emigre who recently returned from Australia, is soon to begin before the Belgrade District Court. Miljenko K. is a young man (born in 1951), and he emigrated in 1971, as he himself says, "for reasons that were purely adventurist." A year later he was in Australia and at that time he completed the training program for terrorists. During the preliminary investigation Miljenko K. testified:

"... I soon realized that they were nothing but riffraff and that you could lose your life in a moment among them. If you didn't carry out an order, if they heard that you had gossiped about someone in the leadership, if you simply fell into disfavor, if they suspected that you were fighting to take the place of one of the leaders, off with your head...."

Showdowns among these extremist emigre groups occur regularly. As in all Mafia and gangster organizations the reason is usually power and money.... Or you have come to stand in the way of the organization's future plans.

At about 2200 hours on 17 January of this year, a Sunday, Jusuf Gervalla (36), Zeka Kadri (28) and Bardosh Gervalla (34), members of the leadership of the pro-Albanian irredentist organization "Red Front," were slain in a new BMW 316 registered in Germany about 200 meters from where they lived in Untergruppenbach, not far from Heilbronn in West Germany.

Jusuf Gervalla and Zeka Kadri had been reporters for Radio-TV Pristina and RILINDJE, and then on several occasions they traveled to Albania, during a celebration and symposium on Skenderbeg they were in Tirana at the same time

as the well-known war criminal and Ballist Dem Pozar, who lives in Turkey (he is the strongest advocate of Hoxha's Albania in Europe). Jusuf Gervalla and Zeka Kadri were received in Tirana by Mehmed Shehu.

When President Tito visited Kosovo in 1979, Jusuf Gervalla and Zeka Kadri organized demonstrations and vandalism: a picture of the president was damaged and then carried through the streets. Slogans like "A Pure Kosovo," "Kosovo a Republic," were written.

When they learned that a warrant had been issued for their arrest, Jusuf Gervalla and Zeka Kadri got in their car and left the country altogether unlawfully. Kadri settled in Switzerland and Jusuf Gervalla in West Germany, where his younger brother Bardosh, a political emigre, had already been living for 7 years.

(The only one arrested in Pristina was Husni, the oldest Gervalla brother, who was sentenced to 3 years of strict imprisonment, while the youngest brother was recently arrested as an organizer and participant in fascist-irredentist demonstrations in March of last year.)

But let us return to the death of the Gervalla brothers and Zeka Kadri: They were slain precisely 30 days after the murder of Mehmed Shehu in Albania.

Shehu's successor was obviously trying to eliminate all the collaborators of his predecessor, just as the latter had eliminated Kozi Dzodze.

The German police established that the Gervalla brothers and Zeka Kadri (the latter had arrived from Switzerland the day before) were obviously waiting for someone they knew: They had weapons, but they did not use them, which is the best indication that they knew the assassins well.

The Gervalla brothers and Zeka Kadri had ceased to be of interest to the higher-ups, since they were collaborators and indeed even favorites of Mehmud Shehu. When we also know (from the German police handling crimes) that the wife of one of the men slain said that the Gervalla brothers had arranged a meeting that night with some friends who were supposed to arrive from some other country, then it is all clear.

After the death of the Gervalla brothers and Zeka Kadri the "Red Front" was taken over by completely unknown people, individuals who are known in emigre circles to have been close collaborators of Albanian diplomats in Belgium and West Germany....

When Loncaric, the king's former adjutant, was strangled in Paris, Milomir Tiodorovic, member of a Chetnik organization, was riddled with bullets in a suburb of Paris 2 days after that crime. By some miracle he survived, and as soon as he left the hospital he applied to return to the country, "even if they hang me there." When he arrived, he declared:

"I knew Loncaric. I had known him since he had returned from Yugoslavia, where he had been infiltrated and then discovered and convicted, and after

serving his sentence he again went abroad. They openly said that they had to silence him once and for all. That is what happened. They strangled him in his hotel room where he was staying temporarily. Since I was also staying there at the time of the crime, there are many things I know. As I was leaving the hotel that night, I saw two Chetniks in the lobby, a certain Gavrilo and another man whose name I don't know. I knew that Gavrilo to be a killer (he had been a sergeant in the prewar army, and during the occupation he received the rank of lieutenant from Draza [Mihailovic]--author's note). When I returned to the hotel sometime after midnight, I saw the police. I learned that Loncaric had been strangled in his room. Of course, I kept silent about everything. The desk clerk said that he, Loncaric, had been visited by two acquaintances and that they had left after an hour.... It was the maid who found Loncaric's body. She had in fact been living with him. After that I got drunk, it was St. Nicholas' Day at a friend's, an emigre, and I probably said that I knew that Gavrilo had knocked off Loncaric. Just 2 days after that they were waiting for me, that same Gavrilo and one other man.... I do not know myself how I survived. They fired 20 bullets into me...."

Recently an Albanian returning from employment abroad (he had worked and lived in Belgium--in Brussels) declared that Musa Hoti, who murdered our diplomatic representative (he also committed a massacre in the Yugoslav Workers' Club in Brussels when Mahmut Visoka and Mesail Memedoski were killed and three others wounded), would never reveal who he got his orders from: "If he did, they would slaughter his whole family."

Brussels, since it is NATO headquarters, is of interest to many intelligence services. Perhaps that is why this city has become a mecca for numerous terrorist-saboteur and espionage organizations of emigres of all stripes, nationalities and ethnic groups. There are Chetnik, Albanian irredentist, Ustasha, Ljoticist and other anti-Yugoslav terrorist centers operating in Brussels....

According to some figures, there are about 20,000 Yugoslavs working and living with their families in Belgium.... Yet it is officially stated that there are 7,128 Yugoslavs employed in Belgium and that half of them are living and working in Brussels. There are about 12,000 Albanians from our country and Turkey in Belgium, and 9,000 live in Brussels.

Enver and Riza Hadri constitute the top leadership of the irredentist terrorist organization "National Resistance of Kosovo," and after he was deported from Spain, Leku, son of Zogu, former king of Albania, has been living there. He and Muharem Barjaktar, a German and indeed English agent, commandant of the Albanian Quisling gendarmerie and Zogu's commandant of the guards, make up the top leadership of the so-called Legality Party. According to what has been written in the emigre press, Leku has been received by the Belgian minister of foreign affairs and ruler, and on that occasion they promised him full support in achieving his aims....

Terrorists of all stripes feel "at home" in Brussels and Belgium since they often have the support of certain newspapers, the police and certain reactionary circles which are very influential in Belgium's government and politics.

Thus Bora Blagojevic, a Chetnik assassin, who has been irrefutably established as the murderer of Goran Kovacic, obtained asylum in Belgium. Up until 1975 he moved about freely in Brussels as head of the "Ravno Gora" Society. But when it was time to elect a new chief of the chapter, who is the one who holds the money, he was eliminated.

Toward the end of that year (a few months after Bora Blagojevic's murder) Milorad Nikodijevic wrote in BELI ORAO [WHITE EAGLE]:

"Dear brothers, I am writing to you to help me, since I am completely incapacitated, and not through my own fault. You know that Bora Blagojevic was killed; I was with him that morning, just before his murder....

"A few days later the same ones fired on me.

"Supposedly because they thought that I knew who the murderer was! So, will it be necessary for that clique gathered around Petar Valic, that corrupt hotel operator who has his finger in every pie, to slaughter all your brothers...."

Petar Valic, founder of the terrorist chapter "Rebirth of Serbia" and owner of the Sarajevo Restaurant, was himself eliminated a month after that.

His murder was followed by those of Miodrag Boskovic and a student named Milicevic, and recently Miodrag Boskovic's brother Milan, who after Miodrag's death had been running his restaurant, which is called "Bosko."

Vladeta Milicevic, chief of the king's former intelligence service, returned to the country in 1965. He was to write:

"Showdowns between the Chetnik emigre community and the emigre community in general were commonplace. It was important to undermine the top leadership in the emigre organization, since then your living is assured, and after that no one can make a move and send you off on some mission. Then you are the one who sends that river of the homeless into missions of some kind against Yugoslavia...."

On 27 August 1981 the Swiss Ministry of Justice and the police issued the following bulletin:

"Last night at about 2300 hours Stanko Nizic (30), night porter at the Kindli Hotel in Zurich, was killed by a revolver bullet fired from point-blank range. The bullet struck Nizic in the forehead. The crime occurred in the early morning hours in the vicinity of the Kindli Hotel, when Stanko Nizic was returning home.

"During the search of Stanko Nizic's home 2 kg of plastic explosive were found, a machine gun and two bazookas. The inquiry established that Stanko Nizic was one of the leaders of a very ramified network of terrorists who were smuggling arms from Switzerland into West Germany and Yugoslavia.

"Stanko Nizic's two closest collaborators, Bozic and Rados, who were in the Kindli Hotel just a few hours before his murder, have disappeared without a trace...."

And on 17 December of last year the Zurich newspaper DER BLICK carried an article:

"After the cold-blooded murder of Stanko Nizic (30), night porter in the Kindli Hotel in Zurich, following a detailed investigation in Switzerland, after a network of Croatian terrorists was broken up, the federal prosecutor's office has arrested 12 Croatian emigres and 2 Swiss accomplices, confiscating on that occasion 120 kg of explosive, several machine guns and hand grenades."

This newspaper has learned from private sources that after Stanko Nizic's murder the police kept a close watch on his close collaborator Franjo Macukic of Zurich. Finally, on 12 December 1981 Franjo Macukic was arrested just as he was about to cross the Swiss-German border with a sizable quantity of arms and ammunition.

The report of the Swiss Ministry of Justice and the police stated on 16 December 1981:

"Several emigrants have been arrested in Zurich, Basel and Solothurn. Those arrested included a Frenchman of Croatian origin and two Swiss citizens. These people were smuggling several hundred kilograms of explosive, machine guns and bazookas from Switzerland into West Germany and Yugoslavia. The Croats have been using Switzerland as their armory in waging an all-out fight for the state they had between 1941 and 1945. Since that time the Croatian emigres have been attempting to extort what they lost through the capitulation of Germany through assassination and bombings of Yugoslav institutions all over Europe."

According to what has been written in the West German press, above all in the newspaper BERLINER MORGENPOST, the Swiss police carried out this action in collaboration with the West German police. After all, according to the information provided by that newspaper, "three members of an Ustasha terrorist organization were arrested in Berlin, and after that the police found and confiscated in several private dwellings in West Berlin pipes containing explosive and hand grenades. It is obvious that preparations were being made for attacks on Yugoslav citizens and institutions."

It is interesting that about that time Bogdan Radica, ideologue of the Ustasha movement, published in an Ustasha periodical which appears abroad a lengthy article on the discord in the Croatian emigre community. Under the title "On the Disunity of the Emigre Community Yesterday and Today" he wrote: "... I could not believe that there were still people in the emigre community who used such weapons as unverified denunciations, personal accusations and obnoxious fabrications. Is it possible that Croatian spitefulness and grudges have reached such a point that what ought to be our national benefit and pride is accused of treason?"

And Zvonimir Greblicki, a Yugoslav who returned from temporary employment in Switzerland, declared:

"It was said of Stanko Nizic that he had embezzled money which he had received to supply the gendarmerie forces. As a matter of fact, when he began to be involved in smuggling arms and explosives, all of a sudden he began to live very well, but everyone knew how much he earned as the night porter at the Kindli Hotel. Stjepan Bozic, a close collaborator of Stanko Nizic, disappeared without a trace after Nizic's murder.

"The story went around in our circle that Stjepan Bozic had denounced Stanko Nizic to the Swiss police, since supposedly the latter did not want to share with him the money he had embezzled from the business of smuggling arms and explosives. Stanko Nizic had to be silenced, since he knew a great deal about Ustasha terrorist stations all over Europe which he supplied with explosives and arms. Aside from that, it was said, he was deriving the greatest benefit from that business for himself...."

Early this January a French newspaper carried a brief notice that an emigre "identified as Stjepan Bozic" had been murdered. The notice was published without comment.

However, in early January the letters to the editors of the newspaper DANICA included one from someone who signed himself "a staunch Ustasha fighter," who wrote:

"I had to leave Europe, since I had been unfairly accused in a plot concerning the charges against Stanko Nizic. Now I am in South America and I am having a very hard time getting along, but I do not dare to come back to prove what really happened. We have begun even to destroy one another...."

The letter was signed by none other than Josip Rados.

After the arrest of the Ustasha terrorist group "Phoenix" in 1972, the captured terrorists related a great many things about the atmosphere in the emigre community, about relationships and about how they were governed.

There is eloquent evidence about this from the captured notes of the "current historian" of the group, which he had written even before the group was infiltrated into the country, at the time when they were making preparations in Austria for the crossing:

"We talked about Rover (Srecko Rover, Ustasha agent of the UNS [Ustasha Surveillance Service]--author's note), and Adolf said that that man had been stealing a lot of money from the membership, supposedly collecting dues and gifts for the Croatian patriots who had been arrested. Adolf said that all such would be eliminated without any sort of trial, since thievery could not be tolerated. Then Vejsil (Keskic--author's note) said that many Ustasha leaders and high-level Chetniks had taken the national wealth with them from the Independent State of Croatia when they fled and that they were using that wealth now just in order to live well. But, Adolf said, we will change

things. We will not tolerate that, and that is why we can never agree with the old Ustashas."

We also learned this from the same diary:

"That man was supposed to set off with us. He had received money from one of our trusted people in Munich and was supposed to report as soon as possible to our station in Graz. But since he did not come, Adolf reported this to the Reverent Cecelj (assistant chief Ustasha priest in the time of the Independent State of Croatia--author's note), and then the Reverend Cecelj announced that we would have to take care of this, since as a member of the clergy he could not act in such cases. Adolf sent Vejsil on a scouting mission.

"Jure Hinic was with Vejsil and said that he could not go on the mission with us, since this was all foolishness, since other people were sitting in fine homes, had good salaries, and later he was supposed to help their promotion as a dead hero. And as for money, he said that he didn't have any more and that he had spent it all....

"I do not know what happened to J. Hinic after that."

The current "historian" never did learn what happened to Jure Hinic, nor did he ever meet him. However, the press in West Germany noted in early 1973 that Jure Hinic had been killed in a fight with a group of those who shared his views....

That was the end of that emigre. But not the end of his wife, who was living and working in West Germany. We have learned this from a letter which she wrote to the Ustasha periodical NOVA HRVATSKA [NEW CROATIA]:

"I do not know how to go about it, and I call upon the honorable editors to answer me: I have been left without my husband, and now I am constantly being visited by some people who want some money from me which supposedly my husband embezzled from our Croatian Ustasha organization. Believe me, I know nothing about this, and I want you to publish this so that those people will leave me alone."

But she wrote differently in a letter to close relatives in Yugoslavia:

"I do not know what would happen if I returned to Yugoslavia. Believe me, I was not involved in anything, since these men's things were Jure's affairs. Poor man, he paid with his life because they accused him of having embezzled some kind of Ustasha money. I had never heard anything about this, but on one occasion he did tell me he might go back to Yugoslavia with a gendarme group and that after that he would earn plenty of money. I told him to give up that dumb business and that he should look out for himself. I believe that they killed him just because he did not want to go off with them in that shootout against Yugoslavia. Incidentally, he mentioned it once, I know, and I see now that his name has appeared in the Croatian press in West Germany that he was killed there and that he was a war criminal.

"Answer me, my dear, on this sheet of mine as to whether I could come back, since there is nothing keeping me here anymore.

"I assure you that I never did anything bad, and whatever Jure did was his business, and I had nothing to do with that.

"I would like to find out my position as soon as possible and to learn what the authorities in Yugoslavia would do toward me as the wife of the late Jure?"

Jure Hinic's wife never wrote to her relative again. All the attempts of that relative to contact her were unsuccessful. Several letters were returned marked: The addressee is no longer at this address.

Is she at any address?

[Box, p 84]

Murders and Sabotage

Since the liberation various anti-Yugoslav emigre groups have carried out 238 commando terrorist missions in which 98 persons were killed, and more than 340 of them seriously or lightly wounded. In just the period from 1962 members of these terrorist groups and organizations of the anti-Yugoslav emigre community have killed 85 of our citizens, 9 of them our diplomatic employees. At the same time 27 of our diplomatic employees or representatives in our foreign missions were wounded seriously or slightly.

Just to mention some of these anti-Yugoslav organizations: Serbian National Defense, SOPO (Serbian Youth Movement), Ljoticist Corps members, Ravna Gora members, the so-called democratic alternative--the consolidation opposition, the movement for liberation, the HNV (Croatian National Council), the Ustashi, the HRB (Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood), the HOP (Croatian Liberation Movement), the HSS (Croatian Peasant Party), Croatian Struggle, Red People's Front, Liberation Movement of Kosovo, Kosovo People's League, Prizren League, legitimists (Zoguists), Balli Kombtar (Ballists), the Albanian League of the Word of Honor, and the like.... Certainly there are also anti-Yugoslav emigre organizations of Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrins, but their number and activity are negligible....

[Box, p 86]

Message

In the emigre newspaper NOVA HRVATSKA (No 2, 1982) a note from the editors appeared under the title "Sabotage Against the Yugoslav Regime" which says that just before that issue was published a message had been received from Croatia from a "previously unknown Croatian Organization for the Free State of Croatia," which had been signed by Zvonimir Hrvatinic and Sabran Kobra.

The message read as follows:

"Through your newspaper we are informing the Croatian and foreign public that we have begun extensive actions toward destruction of Yugoslav government property and other revolutionary actions aimed at weakening and destroying the Yugo-regime and at establishing an independent and democratic state of Croatia.

"The first action planned in 1982 was to damage or destroy a most hated government institution, the Supreme Court of Croatia. The placing of a demolition charge in the building of the court itself would expose our people to excessive danger. That is why other terrorist actions are intended."

[Box, p 87]

Who Is Playing With Fire (excerpt from a statement by Helge Franic (36), who has returned to Yugoslavia from temporary employment abroad)

"For 7 years now I have worked in the Kindli Hotel in Zurich as kitchen help. During that time I did not get involved in political matters, since I kept to my own affairs. But while I was there I did come to know Stanko Nizic, who worked at the hotel desk. I do not know where he came from, but he had made out well. As countrymen we often met, and that was purely platonic, since I had my own man in Yugoslavia. Then in August, I do not remember exactly the date, Stanko Nizic and I met in a small cafe where we each had a glass of juice. On that occasion he informed me that he would probably soon set off for Yugoslavia on an important job and that if I had any messages or wanted to send anything to my people he could take it for me. I told him I did not need that, since I intended soon to return to Yugoslavia on my vacation. On that occasion Stanko asked me whether I had a passport and if I did, would I lend it to the Croatian patriots. I said that I could not lend my passport, since this was my passport and I intended to go to Yugoslavia. He said that I was not a good Croat, but that it was good that he had talked to me, since others would take this attitude of mine as pure hostility! At that point I told him that I had thought that he was here in Switzerland for temporary employment just like me and that he was not involved in politics, and he said: That is how it was at the beginning, but they seized onto me, and I can no longer do anything without them! I told him that what he was doing was no good, since anyone who plays with fire--you know what happens!"

[Box, p 88]

Leaders, Newspapers

Serbian emigre groups: Vlajko Vlahovic--Ljoticists--editor-in-chief of ISKRA; Milorad Vukovic-Bircanin, editor-in-chief of the newspaper BELI ORAO; while the central figure of the Serbian emigre community is Dr Slobodan Draskovic. Then comes the group of the so-called Liberation around the newspaper NASA REC (Tosic) in which Mihajlov and quite recently Milovan Djilas' son Aleksa have been appearing. There are also leaders, big fish and little fish, around the newspapers RAVNOGORAC, SRBOBRAN, OTADZBINA, etc.

Croatian emigre groups: The most important is the HNV (Croatian National Council) whose president is Marko Vidovic, and Mate Mestrovic (son of the sculptor Mestrovic), the Bilandzic brothers and others are also in that group.

Albanian groups: The Prizren League was the most important until Deva's death. A faction of the Balli Komtar group--Kosovo People's League--is tied up to the Ustashi, and for a time its chief was Mitrovica. The most extreme is the League of the Word of Honor, which is led by Emil Kastrioti (alias Emin Fazlija, a former teacher from Kosovo) and Rasim Zenelaj, and that group has firm ties with the Ustasha Croatian People's Resistance (whose chief was Maks Luburic) and with the Croatian Revolutionary Fraternity and the newspaper NOVA HRVATSKA (Jaksa Kusan). Then there are the "Red Front," Enver Hoxha's system of agents (Jusuf Gervalla and now Ibrahim Helmedi) and the organization of M. Barjaktar (Leka I).

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